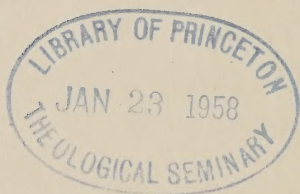


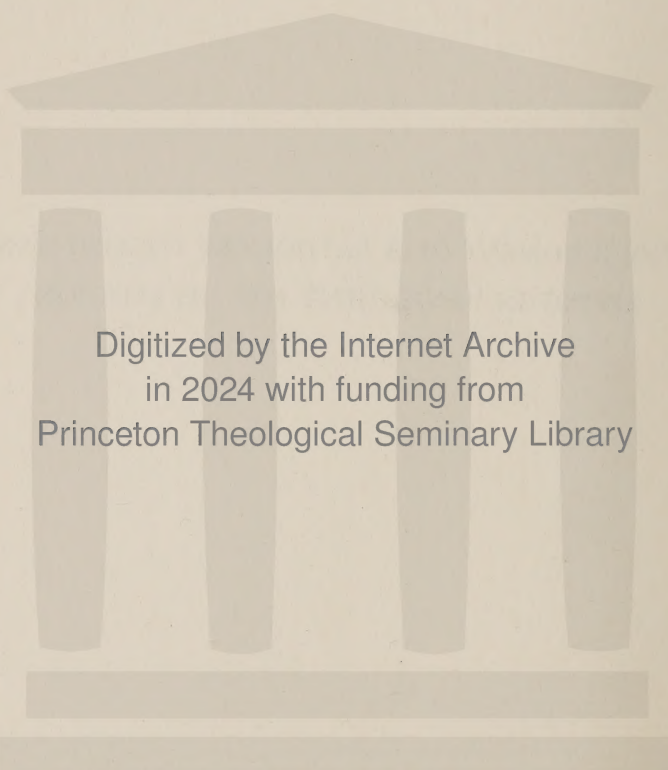
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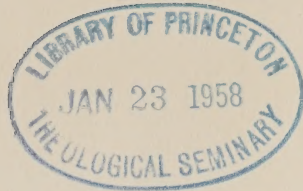
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JUDGMENT

THE JUDGMENT OF A CATHOLICKE ENGLISH-MAN
LIVING IN BANISHMENT FOR HIS RELIGION



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THE JUDGMENT

OF A CATHOLICKE ENGLISH-MAN
LIVING IN BANISHMENT FOR HIS RELIGION
(1608)

BY

ROBERT PERSONS

Robert Parsons

A FACSIMILE REPRODUCTION

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

WILLIAM T. COSTELLO, S.J.

Gonzaga University

GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA

SCHOLARS' FACSIMILES & REPRINTS

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HARRY R. WARFEL, GENERAL EDITOR

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INTRODUCTION

Robert Persons, S.J. (sometimes mis-spelled "Parsons") is supposed to be the intaglio for the Jesuit of fiction. But the Father Holts and Père Rodins, who intrigue always in the dark of the moon, laying plots and inductions dangerous, burning papers at midnight and disappearing into the wood-work, are only murky and unbelievable counterfeits of one of the most fascinating personalities of Elizabethan-Jacobean England. Like Sidney and Raleigh, Persons was involved in high exploit and lofty enterprise; like Jonson and Donne, he was capable of warm friendship and the object of fierce loyalty. He could write popular prose with Nashe and Greene, and still be ranked with Richard Hooker as a serious stylist by no less an authority than Jonathan Swift (*Tatler*, 230). Vilified by James I, Edward Coke, Francis Hastings, William Watson, and a baker's dozen other adversaries, he was the beloved confidant of Edmund Campion, Robert Southwell, and Cardinal Allen, whose virtue and intelligence are beyond cavil. The activities in which Persons, Campion, and their fellow Jesuits engaged for the reconversion of England have been censured by hostile critics as wrong-headed, divisive, traitorous, imprudent, even disobedient, but no serious modern historian challenges Persons' intellectual and moral integrity, his courage, or his devotion to an unselfish ideal.

Persons' courage and resourcefulness are legendary. No Jesuit of fiction can match the derring-do, whereby, with the Channel ports closed specifically against him and with

pursuivants swarming, Persons re-entered England in 1580. Outfitted by a Mr. Chamberlain, an English Catholic serving in the Spanish forces, in "a very fit suit of captain's apparel . . . which was of buff laid with gold and with hat and feather suited to the same," Persons disembarked at Dover on the morning of June 16, 1580, and so successfully played his part as a swaggering captain in his borrowed finery that the searcher commissioned to examine him "found no cause of doubt in him, but let him pass with all favour, procuring him both horse and all things necessary for his journey to Gravesend" (Persons' *Life of Campion*, c. 18; cited in Leo Hicks, S.J., *Letters and Memorials of Father Robert Persons, S.J.* [1942], I, p. xv). In a parting act of effrontery, Persons told the port-inspector that "a merchant friend of his, lying at St. Omer, of the name of Edmonds, would shortly follow him to England and asked that a like favour might be shown him" (Hicks, I, p. xv). Edmonds was, of course, Edmund Campion, who delayed his own journey long enough to describe Persons' curious getup in a letter to the Jesuit General (June 20, 1580): "He was dressed up like a soldier—such a peacock, such a swagerer, that a man needs must have very sharp eyes to catch a glimpse of any holiness and modesty shrouded beneath such a garb, such a look, such a strut" (in Richard Simpson, *Edmund Campion, a Biography* [1866], p. 174).

Not all of Persons' exploits were thus picturesque. Born of good yeoman stock in Somerset, 1546, he found his way to Oxford, where after taking his degree he was elected fellow of Balliol. In 1575 Persons was forced to resign his fellowship because of a quarrel with the Master of Balliol, Adam Squire, who maintained that Persons "perverted a great number of students and that it was not meet for a man of his backwardness in religion to have so many pupils of quality" (Hicks, I, p. x). Whatever the real reason for the quarrel, the Master and fellows "ringing the bells of S.

Mary Magdalen's, shut him out of the College." Not yet a papist, Persons went abroad to Louvain, where he made the Ignatian spiritual exercises under Fr. William Good, an English Jesuit, was converted to Roman Catholicism, proceeded to Rome, and entered the Jesuit novitiate of S. Andrea. After his theological studies he was ordained priest, probably in 1578, and two years later was sent with Campion to England.

Now follow thirteen energetic months of missionary labor in England, where Persons toured the counties, set up the famous secret press in East Ham, and began the long series of controversial writings which were to occupy him between journeys, administrative duties, and countless negotiations until his death. The exploits of Persons and Campion, culminating in the printing of Campion's *Decem Rationes* and the audacious distribution of the book on the very benches at the Academical Act at Oxford in the spring of 1581, aroused the government to feverish activity, with the result that Campion was captured on July 17, and Persons was forced to flee a few weeks later to France. The winter of 1581 he spent at Rouen, writing among other things his famous *The First Book of the Christian Exercise* (1582), the most widely read ascetical book in England, among both Catholics and Protestants, until Richard Baxter's *Saints' Everlasting Rest* (1650) and Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Dying* (1651). Protestants used mostly Edmund Bunny's pirated version, called *A Book of Christian Exercise* (1584), which had been safely bowdlerized of all "Catholic errors and corruption."

In 1584 Persons was concerned with the possible escape of Mary Stuart. On October 10 of that year, with the support of Mary's French kindred and the apparent knowledge of Philip II, Persons wrote the Queen of Scots at Wingfeld, where she was being held.

His review of the situation and his suggestions of various methods of escape were in his typically graceful style: "But now for this manner of escape if yowr Majestye can assure us that yow can but yowr selfe with one or two persons disguised abowt midnight without the howse where as [*sic*] yow lye, and so provide that it may be kept secret for two or three howres after we dowt not but so to provide for the rest that all England shall never take yow agayne, whatsoever pursute may or shalbe made after yow wee shall finde I dowte not both tall and trustye fellowes both by land and sea and resolute to spend theyr lives in the service. And if yowr majestye can be browght to the sea side there shall be a vessell redye sufficientlye provided to brooke the sea from England in what way soever if God say Amen. If the thing be attempted it must nedes be in these longe winter nightes" (Hicks, I, pp. 247-248).

An historical novelist might make a good deal of such ingredients of high romance as a royal beauty in durance vile, disguises, winter midnights, and storm at sea. But the situation was far too tragically desperate for Mary and the Catholic cause to be romanticized, and sober history must relate that Persons' letter had been intercepted by the English government and held up for a year and a half. Meantime, between the dispatch of Persons' letter and its reception, Mary had been removed from Wingfeld, first to Tutbury in January, 1585, and later to the maximum security of Charteley in December of the same year. Accordingly, from Charteley, on May 28, 1586, Mary replied to Persons that, had she received his letter while still at Wingfeld, she "cold have browght that to pass which you did propone unto me. . . . But now both my selfe and my folkes here are so straightly looked unto and kept so close as it hath not hithertill bene in my power to practise any within this Howse to my devotion except hym onely that leadeth this entercowrse. And without I were assisted by

some of my kepars servantes it is now altogether impossible for me to escape the gates onely never a window in my lodging nor way about the howse being almost eyther day or night withowt a sentinell: wherfore for this desseing [design] of my deliverye I can putt yow in no hope consydring the state I am in presentlye" (Hicks, I, p. 357).

Such business was, however, the least important and enduring of Persons' activities on behalf of the English Catholics. From 1585 to 1588, Persons was in Rome, serving briefly as Latin secretary to the Jesuit General and later as rector of the English College. In October of 1588, Persons was sent to Spain to discuss certain matters affecting Spanish Jesuits which were causing difficulties with Philip II. He used his time in Spain well, establishing the seminaries of Valladolid, Seville, and Madrid, among others. Persons' most important foundation, however, was none of the Spanish seminaries but the famous school for boys at St. Omer, which Persons founded in 1593, and which was to be for many generations the greenhouse of English Catholicism.

Persons returned from Spain in 1597, arriving at Rome in March. He found the English College upset by certain "stirs" or dissensions, which had arisen largely over the question of the English succession. He settled the stirs finally in September, and though he thought his stay in Rome was to be short and was anxious to get back to Spain, he was never to do so. Appointed rector of the English College in November, 1597, he continued in that post to his death in 1610. Between times this "Jesuit beyonde the seas, yet an English man," managed to write a succession of books: *A Temperate Ward-word to . . . Sir Francis Hastingses* (1599), *A Brief Apologie* (1602), *A Manifestation of the Great Folly* (1602). These, among others, earned him his reputation as "the most active, the ablest, and the most influential" among the antagonists of Elizabeth (Charles H.

McIlwain, ed., *The Political Works of James I* [1918], p. 1).

Meanwhile James had succeeded to the throne and the insuperable problems of a religiously divided realm. Modern historians are rather more charitable with regard to James' intelligence than their predecessors, but even heroic charity cannot match James' capacity for recognizing his own ability, particularly in matters of pastoral theology. James, deftly managed by Robert Cecil in most matters relating to English policy, twice interposed his theological talents to his own cost. The Hampton Court Conference (1604), over which James presided in person, accomplished nothing; if anything, he alienated further the Presbyterians and Puritans by indulging his persistent delusion that all men must relish his theological haggis. In the long run, however, it was James' second incursion into theological affairs through his personal involvement in the controversy surrounding the Oath of Allegiance (1606) that ruined him as a paragon of prince-theologians.

The genesis of the Oath of Allegiance (and of Robert Persons' present volume) was basically a shrewd application of the maxim *divide et impera*. The Catholics were already split into two parties: one was under the leadership of the Jesuits, who stood for Papal supremacy in matters spiritual; the other was under the Appellants, who were a group of Anglicanizing fellow-travelers among the Catholic clergy. In an effort to exploit the rift (certainly not as a bona fide test of loyalty) Commons passed, May 27, 1606, "An Act for the Better Discovery and Repressing of Popish Recusants," enjoining an oath, which at first reading seemed to require, innocuously enough, that a Catholic "abhorre, detest, and abjure, as impious and hereticall, this damnable doctrine and position, That Princes which bee excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever." Although the apparent occasion for the oath was the discovery of

the Gunpowder Plot, November 5, 1605, the fact is that the oath-formulas, whose initial drafting is traceable to the Appellants, were finally drawn up early in 1605, before the Powder Plot, by Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London. It was hoped that the Jesuits would discredit themselves with the majority of the Catholic laity by opposing the oath; the Appellants would subscribe to it and thus emerge as the leaders of the "good" Catholics as against the Jesuited "bad" (See James Brodrick, S.J., *Robert Bellarmine* [1928], II, pp. 175-177).

The oath was, as Brodrick describes it, "a clever blend of perfectly legitimate declarations with highly controversial ones" (II, p. 176). It involved not only the logical fallacy of the *quaestio complexa*, whereby a Catholic must abjure as impious and heretical the damnable doctrine of regicide (which is like making a man swear that he will stop beating his wife), but further required that a Catholic forswear "as impious and hereticall" the doctrine that a king who is excommunicated or deprived by the Pope may be *deposed* by his subjects. Leaving aside the truth or falsity of the theory of the deposing power (the theory had the support of most Catholic theologians), the oath, in effect, asked a Catholic to swear that King James and Parliament were for him the final arbiters of orthodoxy, since what the Catholic theologians were teaching was described in the oath as *heretical*. By the Oath of Allegiance, as Leopold von Ranke points out, "the supremacy of the King would be practically acknowledged and the connection of the English Catholics with the Papacy dissolved" (*History of England, Principally in the 17th Century* [1875], I, p. 416).

Four months after the passage of the act, on September 22, 1606, Paul V signed a brief pronouncing the oath unlawful for Catholics. The aged Archpriest Blackwell, the official leader of the Catholics in England, had several times changed his position with respect to the oath; finally, after

his capture, June 24, 1607, he took the oath himself and wrote a letter urging it on his flock. Blackwell's yielding called forth a second brief from the Pope, August, 1607, which reasserted the prohibition contained in the previous brief. On September 28, 1607, apparently at the Pope's suggestion, Cardinal Bellarmine wrote to Blackwell a frank but kindly letter, in which he chided the archpriest and insisted on the intransigency necessary with respect to the oath.

James saw in Bellarmine's letter to Blackwell a call to the lists. Against the advice of his ministers, he framed an answer to the Cardinal, issuing on February 14, 1608, the little volume, *Triplici Nodo Triplex Cuneus* (A Threefold Wedge to a Threefold Knot). While the book was officially anonymous, its authorship was an open secret, the royal arms, the style, and, above all, the contents identifying the author at once.

James' book, sub-titled *An Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance*, begins with a gracious encomium of himself as a model of benevolent kingship, particularly in view of the Powder-Treason of unhappy memory. He pays tribute to Elizabeth, "that blessed defunct LADIE," and "hauing sacrificed (if I may so say) to the *Manes* of my late Predecessour" (*The Political Works*, p. 76), he proceeds to criticize the two briefs and to attack Bellarmine. Bellarmine, he feels, is making a mountain out of a molehill, for James affects to see no question of royal supremacy involved. "For in all this Letter of his [Bellarmine's], neuer one word is vsed to prooue that by any part of this Oath the Primacie of Saint *Peter* is any way medled with, except Master *Bellarmino* his bare alleadging" (*The Political Works*, p. 91). (Persons' reply will make James rue the slighting reference here and elsewhere to *Master Bellarmine*.) In fact, says the King, the enforcement of the Oath of Allegiance should be considered by Catholics as an act of

grace: "Nay, could there be a more gracious part in a King, suppose I say it, towards Subjects of a contrary Religion, then by making them to take this Oath, to publish their honest fidelitie in temporal things to their Soueraigne, and thereby to wipe off that imputation and great slander which was laide vpon the whole professours of that Religion, by the furious enterprise of these Powder-men?" (*The Political Works*, p. 97) James' graciousness, in view of the origin of the oath and the context of the staggeringly severe Penal Code which remained unaltered, is hardly to be taken seriously.

James harps upon his point that the Oath of Allegiance is not an Oath of Supremacy, but his effort is largely expended in proving learnedly from Scripture, the Fathers, and the Councils that, despite papal pronouncements and actions in the past, a king is entitled to civil obedience, a point which Persons will insist is not in contention. Whether or not "the State of the Question is twice or thrice changed in this Apologie," as Persons charges (pp. 2-3), the fact remains that James' book is solemnly erudite and often eloquent. James Brodrick pays this tribute: "Despite the unmannerly language and less than regal insinuations, the Apology was genuinely learned, and would not have been a discredit to the best scholar on the Anglican bench of Bishops" (*Robert Bellarmine*, II, p. 191).

Really at issue between James and Bellarmine was the central question of the English Reformation, royal versus papal supremacy, with the annexed question of the divine right of kings. Persons takes up both issues in his reply to the King, dividing his book into three sections or "paragraphs," which correspond roughly to the threefold division of James' book. Paragraph I is concerned with the substance of the oath and the question of papal supremacy; Paragraph II refutes James on the papal briefs; and Paragraph III, almost half of the book, defends Bellarmine.

While Persons follows James in organizing his materials, he does not imitate the King's dour solemnity. With delicious irony, using a trick which Voltaire will later employ against Maupertuis, Persons pretends that he does not recognize the author of *Triplici Nodo*; indeed, he feels that it must be the work of some inferior minister, who has usurped the King's arms and has somehow tricked the King's own printer into unauthorized publication. In fact, Persons does not think that James could even have read the book, not only because "the State of the Question is twice or thrice changed," but because no one as gracious and honorable as the King would ever refer to a Cardinal as "Master," for, "if his Ma[jes]tie had had the perusall of the *Booke*, before it came forth, he would presently haue gyuen a dash of his pen ouer it, with effectuall order to remedy such ouersightes of inciuiltie" (p. 4).

But Persons soon drops his gay twitting of his Majesty and begins to riposte in earnest. Does the King boast of his clemency? Why, then, "is there no end of exprobaton against the Innocent for the Nocent? No compassion? No commiseration? . . . How come so many searches of their houses, spoyle of their goods, apprehensions of their persons, afflictions of their tennants, seruants & friends, so many citations, attachments, vexations, and molestations, that dayly do flow vpon them, as if they were the only malefactours of the Land?" (p. 7) One must go back to Hugh Latimer, perhaps even to Wulfstan, for a more stirring example of rhetorical accumulation (*synathroesmus*, as Persons would have called it). To view the passage as mere rhetoric, however, would be to misconceive the deadly seriousness of Persons' charge.

Persons is not always so Latinate as the above passage would indicate, for, while he does savor such Latinizing as "the Innocent for the Nocent," or "compounded by artificiall ioyning together of Temporall and Spirituall" (p. 15),

or "exulceration maketh them fester more greiuously" (p. 128), he is much more likely to cut his Latin syrup with an acidulous Anglo-Saxonism. His "vayne & brickle felicityes of this world" (p. 32) shines like shook foil. And who would tamper with "vnspeakable affliction and angariation of mynd" (p. 21), or "sacrificing to the *Manes* or Hobgob-lins of his late Lady" (p. 27), or "vpon the egging of others, more then of her owne propension" (p. 33)? Persons' prose attracts the discriminating and while one might wish to temper Isaac Disraeli's enthusiasm, one must agree when he says: "Parsons may be ranked among the earliest writers of our vernacular diction, in its purity and pristine vigour, without ornament, or polish. It is, we presume, Saxon English, unblemished by an exotic phrase. It is remarkable that our author, who passed the best part of his days abroad, and who had perfectly acquired the Spanish and Italian languages, and slightly the French, yet appears to have preserved our colloquial English from the vicissitudes of those fashionable novelties which deform the long unsettled Elizabethan prose" (*Amenities of Literature* [1880], II, p. 85). Persons does seem to have escaped the unhealthy vapors of Euphuism, but he Latinizes rather more than Disraeli would admit.

Be this as it may, even the most casual reader will discover a lively grassrootedness, something always a little extra, wherever he opens Persons. Perhaps it is Persons' habit of thinking in figures (he shows a rhetorician's appreciation for the snares of *similitudo*, pp. 106-107) that makes his prose so tangy and fermentative. He describes James' bookish industry as a bringing forth examples "with his wet finger" (p. 37). Elsewhere, "examples are heaped together to make a muster of witnesses" (p. 99). The issue is "drawne . . . into the Vniuersall Theatre of the world" (p. 127).

There is something genuinely touching about the conclusion of *The Judgment of a Catholicke English-man, Living in Banishment for his Religion*, something that makes one think of the dejected Milton's plea for "the good old cause" in *The Readie & Easy Way*. Persons' love of England shines out in: "Nothing can be more pitifull, then to see a Noble House diuided in itselfe" (p. 124), and he can only conclude wisely but sadly: "I neuer heard or read, that too much violence towards free Subjects euer ended well" (p. 128).

But Persons did not have the last word. *The Judgment of a Catholicke English-man* "was too able and too important to leave unanswered in England" (McIlwain, *The Political Works*, p. lxii), and James was never one to leave a gauntlet on the ground. To a new edition (1609) of *Triplici Nodo*, James prefixed "A Premonition to All Most Mightie Monarches," in which he fairly splutters at "the English Paragraphist, or rather peruerse Pamphleter Parsons, since all his description must runne vpon a P." (*The Political Works*, p. 112). He is even more angry that Persons has dared challenge the Elizabeth myth, already a-building, though Persons has been hardly more than irreverently humorous (p. 27) about the "gracious defunct ladie" to whom he and his brethren owed so little. James fumes royally: "As for the English *Answer*, my vnnaturall and fugitiue Subject, I will neither defile my pen, nor your sacred eyes or eares with the describing of him, who ashames, nay, abhorres not to raile, nay, to rage and spew foorth blasphemies against the late Queene of famous memory. A Subject to raile against his naturall Soueraigne by birth; A man to raile against a Ladie by sexe; A holy man (in outward profession) to insult vpon the dead. . . . Cursed be he that curseth the Anointed of God. . . . Without mought such dogs and swine be cast forth, I say, out of the Spirituall Ierusalem" (*The Political Works*, p. 114).

But all the King's ranting and all the King's men cannot unsay a single word of Persons' little book. Particularly must stand what are perhaps the most important words Persons ever wrote: "at the beginning God did not immediately appoynt these particuler and different formes of Temporall gouernment, which now the world hath, but appoynted only, that there should be Gouernment, leauing to ech nation to take or choose what they would" (p. 121). Here is the English wellspring of the tradition which will run from Bellarmine-Persons, through Locke, to Jefferson, and will result in the document which states among other things that "governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

WILLIAM T. COSTELLO, S.J.

Gonzaga University

THE JUDGMENT OF A CATHOLICKE ENGLISH-MAN
LIVING IN BANISHMENT FOR HIS RELIGION

T H E
I V D G M E N T
O F A C A T H O L I C K E

E N G L I S H - M A N , L I V I N G I N
B A N I S H M E N T F O R H I S R E L I G I O N :

W r i t t e n t o h i s p r i u a t e f r i e n d
i n E n g l a n d .

Concerninge A late B O O K E set forth , and entituled ;

Triplici nodo , triplex cuneus ,

Or , An Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance.

Against two B R E V E S of Pope P A V L V S V . to the Catho-
lickes of England ; & a Letter of Cardinall B E L L A R M I N E
to M . G E O R G E B L A C K W E L L Arch-priest.

W h e r i n , t h e s a i d O a t h i s s h e w e d t o b e u n l a w f u l l v n t o t h e C a t h o l i c k e
C o n s c i e n c e ; f o r s o m u c h , a s i t c o n t e y n e t h s u n d r y c l a u s e s
r e p u g n a n t t o h i s R e l i g i o n .



S . H i e r o n . C o m m e n t . i n C a p . 4 . H i e r e m .

L e t a n O a t h h a u e t h e s e c o m p a n i o n s , T r u t h , I u d g m e n t , a n d I u s t i c e ; f o r
i f t h e s e b e w a n t i n g , i t s h a l l n o t b e a n O a t h , b u t P e r i u r y .

¶ P e r m i s s u S u p e r i o r u m . A N N O 1 6 0 8 .

T H E G E N E R A L L

Contentes of this ensuing Letter,
diuided into three
Paragraphes.

1. **T**H E *first paragraph handleth matters concerning the substance of the Oath, which in the Apologie are spoken by way, as it were, of Preface, before the setting downe of the Popes Breues.*

2. **T**H E *second, considereth the said two Breues, & impugnation therof by the Apologier; and how sufficiently, or insufficiently, the same is performed by him.*

3. **T**H E *third, discusseth the Answer made to Cardinall Bellarmynes Letter; & diuers poyntes of moment therein conteyned, but weakly impugned by the Apologier, as the Authour of this Letter iudgeth.*

T O



To the Reader.

THIS Letter comming to my hands (gentle Reader) some dayes past, from my learned friend beyond the seas, and hauing imparted the same priuately vnto sundry of myne acquaintance, who desyred to read somewhat, concerning the Argument in hād; they were very earnest with me to yield to the printing therof, for eschewing so great labour, tyme, and expences, as would be necessary for the copying it out, to so many, as desyred the view therof: which I intreate thee to take in good part, and vse it to thy benefit. And so to CHRIST IESVS I committ thee, with wish of all felicitie, both in this lyfe, and the next.



P A R T I C V L E R

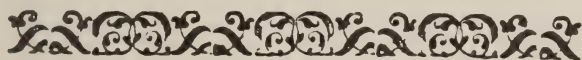
chiefe poyntes handled in this
Letter.

In the first Paragraph.

1. **W** Ho is thought to be the true Authour of this Triplex cuneus, or Apology : and vpon what reasons, & arguments. num. 2. 3. 4. &c.
2. The contentes of the Oath; and how the lawfulness of taking it, was consulted with learned men, both at home, and abroad. num. 14. 15. &c.
3. Whether this Oath do conteyne matters of only meere Ciuill, and Temporall Obedience, and not any of Religion, as is pretended. num. 20. 21. &c.
4. What full and perfect Obedience, and dutifull Allegiance, Catholicke Subiects do acknowledge themselves to owe, and offer vnto his Ma.^{tie} in all Temporall assayres, as much as euer any English Subiects from the beginning, vntill K. Henry the eight his time; and as any forrayne Subiect doth to any Catholicke Emperour, King, or Prince at this day. num. 25. 26. &c.
5. How contradictory it is in it self, That Catholicks must sweare to take the Oath, freely & without coaction, notwithstanding the penalty of Premunire, if they refuse it. num. 29. &c.
6. Concerning a petition to his Ma.^{tie} for exposition of the said Oath, for auoyding of needles vexations. num. 32. 33. &c.
7. That nothing is gayned, but much lost to his Ma.^{tie}, by ouer-much vrging the said Oath. num. 34. 35. &c.

In

The Contentes of this ensuing Letter.



In the Second Paragraph.

THe summe of the two Breues of Paulus V. and whether he had reason to complayne of Catholicks sufferance, or no? num. 1. 2. 3. &c. 1.

Whether Q. Elizabeth did persecute Catholicks, and whether she were so happie in her life, and gouernment, as some do make her. num. 5. 6. 7. &c. 2.

That it is not height of pryde in Catholicks, to desyre liberty of Conscience, as the Apologer sayth. num. 25. 26. 27. &c. 3.

That clemency is no cause of desperate attempts, as this Apologer insinuateth: but rather the contrary, to wit, cruelty. num. 32. 33. &c. 4.

In what poyntes, and why this Oath is held to be vnlawfull for Catholicke men to take: with the examination of Scriptures, Fathers, and Councils about the same. num. 41. 42. &c. 5.

How the Apologer wittingly mistaking the State of the Question, goeth forward, impugning only his owne deuises. num. 61. 62. 6.



In the third Paragraph.

Cardinall Bellarmyne is wrongfully charged to mistake the State of the Controuersy, and to impugn the Oath of Supremacy, instead of the Oath of Allegiance. num. 4. 5. &c. 1.

Why the Apologer changeth the old Tytle of Supreme Head of 2.

The Contentes of this ensuing Letter.

- of the Church, established by Statute vnder K. Henry the 8. and K. Edward the 6. vnto Supreme Gouvernour. num. 6. 7. &c.
3. The ancient Councils of Toledo, how vntruly they are alledged, for prescribing this forme of Oath now exacted. num. 11. 12. 13. &c.
4. Clauses of beliese, or not beliese proued to be in this Oath, contrary to the Apologers assertion. num. 26. 27. &c.
5. An eleuen Contradictions objected out of Cardinall Bellarmynes workes, but no one can be verified. num. 35. 36. 37. &c.
6. The Authorities of sundry Fathers examined, whether they make to the purpose, for which Bellarmyne doth alledge them in his Epistle. num. 58. 59.
7. Great variety of calumnious dealing against the Cardinall, for disgracing him. num. 74. 75. &c.
8. How Kings and Princes are truly seruants of their Subiects; and how their Authority is mediately, and not immediatly from God. num. 78. 79. 83. &c.

THE





THE
I V D G M E N T
O F A C A T H O L I C K E
M A N , T O H I S F R I E N D
in England,
Concerning the Apology, for the new
Oath of Allegiance .

Paragr. I.

ICANNOT, but yeild yow harty
thankes (my louing friend) for the
new *Booke* yow sent me ouer by *Guntar*,
at his last passage: For albeit, I
haue determynd with my selfe in
this my banishment, to spend my
tyme in other studyes, more pro-
fitable, then in contention about
Controuerfyes: yet must I needes accept
kyndly of your good will, in making me
partaker of your newes there. And more
gladde should I haue beene, if yow had
aduertised me, what your, and other
mens opinion, was of the *Booke* in your
parts, then
A that

that yow request me to write our mens Iudgement from hence. And yet, forso much, as yow require it so earnestly at my handes, and that the party is to returne presently, I shall say somewhat with the greatest breuity that I can: Albeit I do not doubt, but that the parties, that are principally interessed therein, will answere the same much more largely.

About the
Authour
of the A-
pologie.

Tho. Mor-
ton.

Tho. Mon-
tague.

II. First then for the Authour, for so much as he setteth not downe his Name, it seemeth not so easy to ghesse; yet the more generall opinion in these partes is, that as, that odious *Discouery of Roman Doctrinne, and practises*, which of late yow haue seene answered, was cast forth against the Catholickes, vnder the cyfred name of T. M: with direction (as he said) from *Superiours*, the Authour being in deed but an inferiour Minister; so dyuers thinke it to be probable, that this other *Booke* also, commeth from some other T. M. of like condition, though in respect of his office, somewhat neerer to his Maiesty, to whome, perhaps, he might shew the same (as the other dedicated his) and therupon might presume to set it forth *Authoritate Regiâ*, as in the first front of the *Booke* is set downe, somewhat different from other bookes, and cause it to be printed by *Barker* his Ma.^{ties} Printer, and adorned in the second page with the Kings Armes, and other like deuises, wherein our English *Ministers*, do grow now, to be very bold, & do hope to haue, in tyme, the hand, which *Scottish* Ministers once had. But I most certaynly do perswade my selfe, that his Ma.^{tie} neuer read aduisedly all, that in this *Booke* is conteyned: For that I take him to be of such iudgement and honour, as he would neuer haue let passe sundry things, that heere are published, contrary to them both.

III. As for example, his Highnes great iudgement would presently haue discouered, that the State
of

of the Question, is twice or thrice changed in this *Apologie*, and that thing proued by allegations of Scriptures, Fathers and Councils, which the aduerse part denyeth not, as after in due place I shall shew. And againe he would neuer haue let passe, so manifest an ouersight, as is the charging of *Card.^{all} Bellarmine* with eleuen seuerall places of contradiction to himselfe in his workes, whereas, in the true nature of a contradiction or contrariety, no one of them can be proued, or mainteyned, as euery man that vnderstandeth the Latyn tongue, and will but looke vpon *Bellarmino* himselfe will presently fynd.

I V. Nay some of them are so palpable, as euery man of common sense, euen without Latyn, or learning, will espy the same: as namely, the very first, where it is said, That *Card.^{all} Bellarmine* writeth in his fifth Booke of *Iustificacion*: That, for the vncertainty of our owne proper righteousness, and for auoyding of vayne glory, it is most sure and safe to repose our whole confidence in the alone mercy and goodnes of God. Which proposition (sayth the *Apologie*) is directly contrary to the whole discourse and currant of all his fyue bookes *De Iustificacione*. But euery man out of common reason, will say, that the opposition betweene one place, and fyue bookes, is very generall, and vncertaine to the Reader. He should haue cyted some one or two, or more places, out of those fyue bookes, which in true sense, and wordes had byn contrary to the former place, to the end that iudgement might haue byn made therof: and this in credit he ought to haue done, to conuince so great a man of contradiction to himselfe.

V. Agayne, it is alleadged for a manifest contradiction in *Bellarmino*, for that in one place he saith: That, the end of the world can not be knowne: and in another, That within 25. dayes after *Antichrists* death, the world shall haue an end. But what man is so simple, or silly,

What his Maiesties great iudgement would haue discovered, if he had read the *Apology*.

Cap. 7.

that will not presently demaund, how we shall know the certaynty, when Antichrist is to come? For ther-upon dependeth the whole controuersy.

V I. In like manner wheras his Ma.^{tie} is knowne to be a Prince of most honorable respects in treaty, and vsage of others; especially men of honour and dignity, it is to be thought, that he would neuer haue consented, if he had but seene the *Booke*, with any attention, that those phrases of contempt, not only against the *Pope* (at least as a temporall Prince) but neyther against the *Cardinall*, calling him by the name of *M. Bellarmine*, should haue passed; For so much, as both the *Emperour*, and greatest Kings of Christendome, do name that dignity with honour. And it seemeth no lesse dissonant, to call a *Cardinall*, *Maister*, then if a man should call the chiefeest dignities of our Crowne by that name, as *M. Chauncelour*, *M. Treasurer*, *M. Duke*, *M. Earle*, *M. Archbishop*, *M. Bancroft*, which I assure my selfe, his Ma.^{tie} would in law of honour condemne, if any externall Subiect or Prince, should vse to men of that State in our Countrey, though he were of different Religion. Wherefore I rest most assured, that this proceeded, cyther out of the Ministers lacke of modestie, or charity: and that if his Ma.^{tie} had had the perusall of the *Booke*, before it came forth, he would presently haue gyuen a dash of his pen ouer it, with effectuall order to remedy such ouersightes of inciuitie.

V I I. Furthermore that generall assertiue note gyuen against *Card.^{all} Bellarmine*, that, *Whensoever he is pressed with any difficult argument of his Aduersary, he careth not to contradict himselfe, so he may decline thereby the present storme*, I can hardly belicue that his Ma.^{tie} would haue passed ouer with approbation. For so much, as it is so generall, as I said, and would require an induction of many particuler examples, to inferre the same;

What his
Maiesty in
honour
woulde
haue mis-
liked.

same; wherof no one is heere alledged, that can be stood vnto, and proued to be a true contradiction in deed. That other iniurious and stinging conclusion also, that, *There is no greater difference betwene God and Belial, light and darrenes, heauen and hell, then there is betwene the doctrine of the Scriptures, and Card.^{all} Bellarmines workes, concerning the dignity of temporall Princes*, I can not imagine that the equity, and grauity of his Ma.^{tie} would cuer allow of it, being apparantly a passionate exaggeration, and retuted euery where by Bellarmine himselte, where he teacheth, that temporall Princes haue their Authority from God, are Gods substitutes and Vicars, in all temporall assayres of their States and Kingdomes, are for such to be obeyed, not only, out of feare to auoyd punishment, but of conscience vnder paynes of damnation: so as, wherin this great and absolute opposition of *Scriptures* to *Bellarmins* workes, about the Authority and dignity of temporall Princes doth consist, I see not. And if his bookes had byn so derogatory to Princely Authority, as heere is said, it is very like, that so many other Monarches, Princes, and great States, would neuer haue permitted them to haue bene printed in their Dominions, as they haue done, and do dayly. Wherefore, neyther this also, do I suppose, that the great wisedome of his Ma.^{tie} would haue allowed.

*Videlib. de
Laici, ma-
xime ca. 10.
II. & c.*

VIII. This then remayneth most firme in my perswasion, that his Ma.^{tie} had nothing to do with the *Booke*, but only, perhaps, the allowance therof in generail termes, before it was published: and this yow will easely see by the substance therof, which consisteth (such as it is) of three principall poynts or partes. The first, conteynng, as it were, a preamble to the *Breues*, concerning the nature of the Oath exacted, and circumstances therof. The second, touching the contents of the said *Breues*, & the *Popes* manner of proceeding

Three partes of the Apology.

ceeding therin. The third, the examination of Card.^{all} Bellarmines letter to M. Blackwell the Arch-priest: of all which, I do promise yow, but a small tast, as I said; for I haue very little tyme, and I should offer iniury to others, to whome it belongeth to make a more full answere, if I should deteyne my selfe long therin.

Page. 1. & 2.

IX. The preamble beginneth with, *The monstrous, rare, nay neuer-heard-of treacherous, famous, and infamous attempt, plotted within these few years heere in England (of the powder-treason) infinite in cruelty, singular from all example, crying loudly for vengeance from heauen, &c.* All which Epithetes for due detestation of so rash and heynous an attempt, Catholicks, no lesse then Protestants, do willingly admit; though for singularity from all examples, if we respect *Speciem*, & non *Individuum*, that cannot be like to an other in all poynts, there berecounted in Histories, many attempts of the same kynd, and some also by Protestants, in our dayes: as that of them, who in Antwerp placed a whole barke of powder in the vaulted great street of that Citty, where the Prince of Parma, with his nobility, was to passe: and that of him in Hage, that would haue blowne vp the whole Counsell of Holland, vpon priuate reuenge: as also that of Edenburrow in Scotland, where the like trayne of powder was layd for the cruell murder of his Ma.^{ties} Father, which not succeeding, his death was achieved by an other, no lesse bloody, and barbarous, violence.

The odious and often repetition of the powder-treason.

X. But why (I pray yow) is this wofull attempt of those vnfortunate Gentlemen, so often brought in agayne, and repeated almost in euery corner of this Booke? Are they not executed, that were culpable therof? And are not other Catholicks deliuered from the guylt therof, by the long, and diligent search of Iustice made thereabout? The Minister himselfe confesseth in his very next lynes, *The equity of his Ma.^{ties} to be such*

be such, as he professed in his Proclamation, & Parliament-speech, that he would not use other Catholicks the worse for that, whereof it followeth that he held them for guytieffe; & that all those pressures both of consciences & externall affliction which since that tyme they haue suffered, and do at this present, were designed before that, and begunne also to be put in execution (as indeed they were) and that the powder-treason was not a cause of these afflictions, but an effect rather: that is to say, that those Gentlemen foreseeing or knowing the course that was designed to be taken, and partly also put in practice, resolved vpon that miserable *Medium*, to their owne destruction, and publike calamity.

The powder-treason not so much a cause, as an effect of Catholiks tribulation.

XI. But alas, is there no end of exprobration against the Innocent for the Nocent? No compassion? No commiseration? If the clemency of his Ma.^{tie} in his gracious Proclamation (as heere is confessed) gaue security, that, notwithstanding that headlong action of those few Catholycke Gentlemen, *None of the profession should be the worse used for that cause*; how commeth it to passe, that so many aggrieuances haue byn heaped vpon them euer since, and are daylie, both by infamous libels published against them, as appeareth by the former T. M. his slaūderous *Discovery*, and others mentioned in the Answer therunto; as also by the new *Oath*, deuised for the vtter ouerthrow, both in soule, if they take it against their conscience, and of body, goods, and estimation, if they refuse it? How come so many searches of their houses, spoyle of their goodes, apprehensions of their persons, afflictions of their tennants, seruants & friends, so many citations, attachments, vexations, and molestations, that dayly do flow vpon them, as if they were the only malefactours of the Land?

In the treatise of Mitigation in the preface

XII. And now I pray yow let vs see, how this second T. M. (if he be Authour of the *Booke*, as he is presumed)

Apologia
pag. 2. lin.
vlt.

Pag. 3.

The agri-
uance of
this Oath.

Pag. 4.

presumed) doth speake of this Oath, as of a thing of no pressure & preiudice at all. For hauing spoken of the former asseueration of his Ma.^{ties}, That none of that profession should be worse vsed for that cause, he adioyneth presently: Only (saith he) at the next sitting downe againe of Parliament a forme of Oath was framed to be taken by all his Ma.^{ties} Subiects, whereby they should make cleere profession of their Resolution, faithfully to persist in his Ma.^{ties} Obedience, according to their naturall allegiance: To the end, that heerby his Ma.^{tie} might make a separation of his Subiects &c. by which exception of (Only) a man may well perceauce, that this Minister maketh litle accompt of taking, or not taking this Oath, for so much as he supposeth Catholike people to haue receaued no hard vsage therby, though they be brought into such extremities, as either they must sweare against their owne iudgements, & conscience in diuers pointes, appertayning to their Religion, or indure his Ma.^{ties} heauy displeasure, with losse of all, that in this lyfe is dearest vnto them: which no Catholicke man can auoyd now in England, but he that maketh no scruple to sweare or vsweare whatsoeuer turneth him best to his comodity, or Superior Authority doth impose vpon him.

XIII. But against this, you will say, that two things heere are alledged, and auouched in his Ma.^{ties} behalfe, by the Authour of this Pamphlet: the one, that, *He intendeth no persecution against Catholickes for conscience cause, but only desireth to be secured of them for Ciuill Obedience*: Which if it be so, I see not, but that the matter may quickly be ended: for that I presume no Catholicke in England, will deny to sweare all cyuill obedience that he oweth to his Ma.^{iesty}, or that any subiect hath euer in former Catholicketimes sworne to their leige Lords or Princes, or do in other countreyes at this day. The other is, *That very many (sayth he) of his Ma.^{iesties} subiects that were Popishly affected, as well Priests as Laykes haue*

haue freely taken the same Oath, wherby they both gaue his Maiestie occasion to thinke the better of their fidelity & likewise freed them selues of that heauy slander. So he. And then follioweth immediately that his Maiesty punisheth none for Conscience cause, so they exhibite Cyuill Obedience. And why then are men kept in prison, after they haue taken this Oath? Why are M. Blackwell, and M. Charnocke deteyned styll by the L. of Canterbury? Why are Recusants punished, & fyned for Recusancy, though they take the Oath of Allegiance? Is not Recusancy a cause of Conscience? Do you see how these things do hold togeather.

XIIII. To returne then to this Booke, the writer saith, That the Dyuell could not haue deuised a more malicious tricke, for interrupting this so calme and clement a course, then by sending hither and publishing a Breue of the Pope, counter-maunding all them of his profession, to take this Oath, therby sowing new seedes of ieaousy betweene his Maiesty and his Popish Subiects. &c. But what was the calme & clement course before, all men know. For first men were vexed, spoyled, & imprisoned for Recusancy; then was the Oath deuised to afflict their Consciences: and in these afflictions what should Catholicks do? They first consulted the case which Learned men at home; then also abroad: And albeit at home, some were moued in respect of the compassion they had of the present perill, if it were refused, to thinke that in some sense the Oath might be taken: yet none abroad were of that mynd: For that they allowed not of any sort of *Equiuocation* in matters touching faith & religion. And in these, I heare say that the Iesuities were among the chiefe & most forward, as heere also is confessed: who notwithstanding before were most accused, bayted and exagitated, both in Bookes, Pulpitts, and Tribunalls, for allowing, in some points, the lawfull vse of *Equiuocation*.

The Oath
consulted,
both at
home and
abroad.

See the
Breue 10.
Kal. Octo.
1606.

XV. About this doubt, Catholickes, according to their rule of Subordination, and spirituall Obedience in such affayres, referring the matter to the iudgment and consultation of their Supreme *Pastour*, whome by the principles of their Religion they beneue, that our Saviour giueth assistance, for the direction of mens soules; they receyued from him, after due deliberation, this answer, *That the whole Oath, as it lay, could not be admitted without the integritie of the Catholicke Faith.* For that albeit diuers partes therof were lawfull, to wit, all such clauses, as appertained to the promise of Ciuill and Temporall Obedience: yet other thinges, being interlaced and mixt therewith, which do detract from the spirituall Authoritie of their said highest *Pastour* (at leastwise indirectly) the whole Oath, as it lieth, was made therby vnlawfull.

See Answer
cap. 6.

XVI. And this I vnderstand to be the substance of the *Popes* Resolution and answer, though all these particularities be not set downe in his *Breues*, but onely the Oath declared to be vnlawfull in conscience to Catholicke men, as it lyeth, without distinction. And what *malitious trickes of the Diuell* then, this may be thought, where sheepe do make recourse to their spirituall *Pastour*, in so great and important occasions of their soules, as these are, I see not. Do English Catholickes any other thing in this, then that which all English Subiects, both great and small, learned and vnlearned haue done, and practised from our first Christian Kinges, vntill the time of King *Henry* the eight, vpon the point of a thousand yeares? Let the Answer to Sir *Edward Cookes* booke of *Reportes* lately set forth, be examined, whether it doth not shew, that in all those Ages, recourse was euer made to the *Sea Apostolicke*, in like occasions, without preiudice of Subiectes temporall dueties to their temporall Princes.

XVII. No one English Christian King (though they

they were many) did euer absolutely deny recourse to Rome in spirituall things (notwithstanding in some other Cyuill, or mixt matters, vpon different occasions, some restraints were some tymes made) from our first king *Ethelbert* to king *Henry* the eyght, as by the said discourse & Answer is euidently proued: & much more throughout the noble rancke of the Christian kinges of *Scotland*, his Ma.^{ties} Progenitours, vntill his moit renowned Progenitrix (by whome, and from whom he hath his royall right of both Crownes) who is knowne & reputed throughout Christendome, to haue died for defence of this Catholicke doctrine: For so much, as if she would haue abandoned that, there had byn little doubt of making her away. And the like may be said of all other great Christian and Catholicke Princes of our dayes, as the Emperour himselfe, the Potent Kings, and Monarches of *Spayne*, *France*, *Polonia*, and other States, Common-wealthes, and Potentates, do not thinke it any disgrace, diminution of honour, perill or iniury vnto them, that their Subiects, for matters of Conscience, do make recourse to the Sea *Apostolicke*, or that, which is consequent therof, the said Sea, or generall Pastour do interpose his iudgement, declaration, or decision in such affayres.

Recourse to Rome euer vsual from our first Christianity.

Q. Mary of Scotland.

XVIII. This is the Catholicke doctrine and practise: this hath bene in vse throughout Christendome from all antiquity, & no where more then in our Realmes of *England* and *Scotland*, as hath byn said. In this beliefe and practise, liued and dyed all our forefathers, that were Subiects, all our noble Kings, that were our Soueraignes, all our Bishops and Prelats, that were our Pastours, all our great Counsellours and Lawyers, that by their wisdom and learning gouerned the land, all our Nobility, Gentry, Priests and Laytie: So as if now this be holden for a malicious trick

Catholiks do hould & practice what all their Ancestours haue done.

of the diuell, dishonorable and preiudiciall to his Ma.^{tie}, his Soueraigny, Crowne, dignity and security, as heere is insinuated, it must needs be, for that the diuell indeed hath made some change in other men, and matters, by altering of opinions and apprehensions. For the Catholicks are the same that they were wont to be, and do thinke the same, belieue the same, teach the same, and practice the same, that all their predecessors haue done before them.

Apol. pa. 6. XIX. But to returne to the Apologie. Two mislikes are consequently set downe, after the former wordes: The first, that the Pope did mittere falcem in alienam messem, by intermeddling betweene his Ma.^{tie} and his Subjects, especially in matters that meereely and only concerne cyuill Obedience. The other, that he refused not particularly, what speciall wordes he quarrelled in that Oath; which if he had done (saith the Apologie) it might haue byn, that his Ma.^{tie} for the Fatherly care he hath, not to put any of his Subjects to a needles extremity, might haue byn contented, in some sort, to haue reformed, or interpreted those words with his owne Catholicks, and so had they byn thereby fully eased in that busines; or at leastwise, some appearance or shaddow of excuse, might haue byn left vnto them for refusing the same, vpon scrupulous tenderresse of Conscience, &c. Thus writeth he. Which if he do bona fide, and haue besydes any inckling or insight in his Ma.^{ties} meaning indeed that way, for the ease or comfort of his afflicted Catholicke people; I doubt not, but that full satisfaction may be gyuen to his Royall Highnes, in these two poyntes that heere are set downe.

English
Catholiks
not *Mesis*
aliena to
the Sea A-
postolike.

XX. For first, about putting the Popes hooke in another mans haruest, supposing, as we do, that wee treat of Catholicke people only, and according to Catholicke doctrine, and in matters belonging to Catholicke mens soules and consciences; it cannot be called *Mesis aliena*, an other mans haruest, that the Pope dealeth in England, with such kynd of people, and in such causes, as well

as in *Spainne, France, Flanders, Italie, Germanie, Polonia,* and other States and Kingdomes; for that they are no lesse appertayning to his flocke, care, charge, and haruest, then the rest. Neyther doth the materiall separation of our Iland, separate vs from the vnion of one body, nor of one Obedience to one & the selfe same general Head and Pastour, no more, then it doth from the vnion of one beliefe, and of one number and forme of Sacraments, of one manner of seruice, and other like poyntes, belonging to the internall and externall vnitie of Catholicke Religion.

XXI. But the Apologie saith, that, *His meddling about this Oath, is in matters, that meerly and only concerne Cyuill Obedience*: and the same he repeateth in dyuers other partes and passages of this Booke; which if it be true, I will easely graunt that his Ma.^{tie} hath cause of iust dislike. But if this proue not so, and that the matters refused in the Oath, are poyntes appertayning in deed to Religion, then I hope, that by answering fully this poynt, we shall satisfy also the second, why it was not needfull for the Pope to set downe any particuler confutation in his *Breues*, but only to say (as he doth) in generall, that, *The integrity of Catholicke Religion permitteth them not to take such an Oath*, in which, both Cyuill and Ecclesiasticall poynts are couched, and conioyned craftily together, with no small preiudice of the said Catholicke Religion.

Ibid. pag. 6.

XXII. And how the shall we cleare this importāt matter, *VVhether there be any pointes in this Oath belonging to religion, besydes Cyuill Obedience?* Very easily: by foure seuerall, and distinct wayes. The first wherof shall be taken from the playne expresse wordes, sense, and drift of the Oath it selfe: That besydes the acknowledgment of our Soueraigne to be true King, and rightfull Lord ouer all his dominions, and that, *I will be a true loyall Subiect vnto him*, and other such like clauses, wherat no man sticketh or maketh difficulty; the said Oath conteyneth further, that,

That the
Oath con-
teyneth
poyntes
against Ca-
tholicke
Religion.

I must sweare in like manner some poyntes concerning the limitation of the Popes authority, to wit, what he cannot do towards his Ma.^{tie} or his Successours in any case whatsoeuer. Which question being brought from the particuler Hypothesis, to the generall Thesis, concerning all Kings (for the like reason is also in others) both in the one & the other; it toucheth a poynt of doctryne and Catholicke beliefe, concerning the sufficiency of Pastorall authority, left by our Sauour in his Church vnto S. Peter and his successours, for redressing of all inconueniēces that may fall out, which I (being a Catholicke) cannot in my Conscience forswear, without perill of euerlasting damnation. And this is one way of cleering the question.

The Popes
wordes in
his Breue.

XXIII. An other is, to looke vpon the Popes wordes in his Breues, wherby will appeare, what his meaning was of the contents of the Oath. Wee haue heard (*sayth he*) how yow are compelled by most grieuous punishments set before yow, to go to the Churches of Hereticks, to frequent their Assemblies, to be present at their Sermons, &c. Wherby we are moued by the Zeale of our Pastorall Office, and by the Paternall sollicitude which we haue for the saluatiō of your soules, to warne, & pray yow, in no sorte, to go to the said Churches, nor to heare their Sermons, nor to communicate with them in any externall rites, least yow do incur the wrath of God therby. For that, *it is not lawfull for yow to do these things without detrimēt of Gods seruice, and of your owne saluation:* as also yow may not, without most euident, and grieuous iniury of Gods honour, *bynd your selfe with the Oath*, which in like manner to our great griefe, we haue heard, to be administred vnto yow, of the tenour vnder written, &c. And then after the whole forme of the Oath set downe, he writeth thus. *VVhich things being so, it ought to be cleere vnto you, by the wordes themselves, that such an Oath can not be taken without damage to the Catholicke sayth, and health of your soules: for that*

it conteyneth many things against the said Catholike faith, and health of your soules.

XXIV. By these wordes of the *Breue*, we may see plainly, that as the matter of going to Church, Assemblies, and Sermons of those of a contrary Religion, are forbidden by him, as spirituall matters, and acts of a false Religion: so is the taking of the Oath, not in regard of Temporall & Cyuill Obedience to his Ma.^{tie} (which by a former *Breue* his predecessour had permitted, and recommended to all Catholicks soone after his Highnes entrance vnto the Crowne; but for the admixture of other clauses, appertayning to some poyntes of Religion as before hath byn said.

XXV. The third prooffe may be taken out of the ensuing letter of *Card.^{all} Bellarmine*, who hauing diligently considered with other learned men, of the nature of this Oath, doth therfore hold it to be vnlawfull, for that it is so compounded by artificiall ioyning together of Temporall and Spirituall things, Cyuill Obedience, and forswearing the Popes authority, as (to vse his wordes) *No man can professe his Cyuill Subiection, and detest treason and conspiracy (by this Oath:) but he must be forced also to renounce the Primacy of the See Apostolicke.* And therefore he compareth it to the cratty composition, and commixture of Images of the Emperour *Julian*, & of the Paynim Gods, so coupled and combined together in his Imperiall banner, as dutifull Subiects that were Christiãs, & desyred to performe their Temporall duety & Cyuill honour to their Soueraigne, could not bow downe to his Picture, as the fashion was, but must seeme also to do the same to the heathen Idols: which rather then they would do, they were content to suffer cruell death. So as in this case such as denyed to obey in that point, did it not for lacke of reuerence, and loyall affection to their Emperour, as odiously it was objected and amplified against them: but by reason of the mixture of things

Cardinall
Bellarmine's iudgement of the contents of the Oath.

things vnlawfull, with those that werelawfull: And the like plainly is heere in this case, where Catholicks are wrongfully accused to deny their acknowledgment of cyuill Obedience conteyned in this *Oath*, for that they refuse to take the same: wheras their refusal is not for this, but for other clauses pertayning to their Religion.

A loyall
offer of
ciuill Obe-
dience,
made by
Catholiks
to his Ma-
iesty.

XXVI. Fourthly then, for a more full, and fynall cleering of this matter, I can thinke of no better, nor more forcible meane, then to make this reall offer, on the behalfe of euery English Catholicke, for better satisfaction of his Ma.^{tie} in this poynt, so much vrged of their Cyuill & Temporall Obedience. First that he will sweare, and acknowledge most willingly, all those partes, and clauses of the *Oath*, that do any way appertaine to the Ciuill, and Temporall Obedience due to his Ma.^{tie}, whome he acknowledgeth for his true and lawfull kyng and Soueraigne ouer all his Dominions, and that he will sweare vnto him, as much loyalty, as euer any Catholicke Subiect of England, did vnto their lawfull King in former tymes, and ages, before the change of king *Henry* the eyght: or that any forraine Subiect oweth, or ought to sweare to any Catholicke *Prince* whatsoever at this day.

XXVII. Secondly that for the *Pope*, who, by the force of Catholicke Religion, is the Supreme *Pastour* of his soule, he hopeth in Gods goodnes, that he will neuer attempt any thing in preiudice of his Ma.^{tie}, nor will he euer procure, of his part, that he do: but rather will seeke to stay, or let the same, as much as shall lye in his power; praying hartily for them both. But for so much, as the Question of his Authority, what he might do, in certayne vrgent cases, for the preservation of any Countrey; and for the vniuersall good of Gods Church, is a matter belonging to doctrine & Religion, he cannot with safety of his Con-
science

science sweare vnto the Articles and branches of the Oath touching that poynt.

XXVIII. Heere then wee see that all Ciuill Obedience, and humble acknowledgment of all Temporall Duety is offered to his Maiestie by his Catholicke Subiects, in most ample manner, that can be deuised, or that is offered to any Christian Catholicke Prince lyuing. And if this be not accepted, then is it euident, that more is required, then meere and only Ciuill Obedience, as heere is often auouched.

XXIX. And now, for so much as it is said heere in like manner, *That very many of his Ma. ties Subiects, that were Popishly affected, as well Priests as Laycks, did freely take the same Oath* (which he calleth *A blessed successe fro God of this godly and wyse intent, in deuising and proposing the same:*) I shall be forced also to say somewhat of this matter, before I passe any further. And first of all, concerning the freedom, wherby it is heere said, *That priests and Laycks did freely take the same*; no man, I thinke, will deny, but that the taking of this Oath is proposed by the Statute it selfe vnder paine of the losse of all goods and lands, and perpetuall imprisonment to him, that shall refuse it: which is the very same freedom, and no other that a merchant hath in a repest, eyther to cast out his goodes into the sea, for lightening his ship, or to be drowned himselfe. And though Aristotle in his *Ethicks* do seeme to hold it to be *Simpliciter inuoluntarium*, simply against the will of the doer, and Catholicke Deuynes, That it is *Inuoluntarium secundum quid*, in part inuoluntary and simply voluntary, for that, all circumstances considered, he resolueth fynally to be the best to cast out his goods and saue himselfe: yet all agree in this, that freedom is taken away by this constraint of the passion of feare: For that freedom requyreth full liberty to both extreames or obiects, that are proposed; which is not

Apol. pag. 4.

Whether the taking of this Oath by Catholicks be a blessing from God.

1.
Statut. 3. Jacobi Reg. cap. 4. 2. Ethic. c. 2.

D. Thom. 1. 2. q. 6. art. 6. & Valeria, Vasquez, &c. in eum locum.

How freely
the Oath is
taken.

in our case. For that the displeasure of the Prince, the losse of goods and liberty, the ruyne of his family, the terrour and perswasion of his friendes, are heauie poy-ses, and do mightily preponderate on the one side: and consequently the mention of this freedome, might haue beene pretermitted, for so much, as no contraint of humane will can be greater, then this: And yet is it said in the *Oath*, that he must do it, *both willingly and hartily*, and as he belieueth in Conscience. Let the discreete Reader consider what coherence there is in their tale.

2.

The sense
& meaning
of Catho-
licks, that
tooke the
Oath.

XXX. Secondly, as for that multitude of Priests, & Laycks, which he sayeth, *Haue freely taken this Oath*; as their freedome was that, which now I haue mentioned, and a principall motiue (as may be presumed) the desyre they had, to giue his Ma.^{tie} satisfaction, and deliuer themselves, and others so much as lay in them, from that inference of disloyall meaning, which vpon the denyall therof, some do vse to make: so I cannot, but in charity assure my self, that they being Catholicks tooke the said *Oath* (for so much as concerneth the Popes authority in dealing with temporall Princes) in some such lawfull sense, and interpretation, as (being by them expressed, and accepted by the Magistrate) may stand with the integrity, and sincerity of true Catholicke doctrine, and faith: To witt, that the Pope hath not Authority without iust cause, to proceed against them: *Quia illud possumus, quod iure possumus*, saith the law: Our authority is limited by Iustice. Directly also the Pope may be denyed to haue such authority against Princes, but indirectly only, *in ordine ad spiritualia*, and when certayne great, importat, & vrgent cases, concerning Christian religion fall out, which we hope will neuer be, betweene our Soueraigne, and the Sea Apostolicke; for so much as they haue past already, many yeares (though in different Religions) in
peace

peace, and quietnes euen since his Ma.^{tie} began first to raigne.

XXXI. But concerning the generall Question, to deny simply and absolutely, *That the Pope is supreme Pastour of the Catholicke Church, hath any authoritie left him by Christ, eyther directly or indirectly, with cause, or without cause, in neuer so great a necessity, or for neuer so great and publicke an utility of the Christian Religion, to proceed against any Prince whatsoever temporally, for his restraint or amendment, or to permit other Princes to doe the same*: this, I suppose, was neuer their meaning that tooke the *Oath*; for that they should thereby contradict the generall consent of all Catholicke Deuines, and confesse, that Gods prouidence, for the conseruation, and preseruatiō of his Church, and Kingdome vpon earth, had bene defectuous, for that he should haue left no lawfull remedy, for so great and excessiue an euill, as that way might fall out.

XXXII. Wherefore, for so much as some such moderate meaning, must nedes be presumed, to haue bene in those that tooke the *Oath*, for safeguard of their Consciences; if it might please his Maiesty to like well, and allow of this moderation, and fauourable interpretation, as all forreyne Catholicke Kings and Monarchs doe, without any preiudice at all of their safety, dignity, or Imperiall preheminence: I doubt not but he should fynd most ready conformity in all his said English Catholicke Subjects, to take the said *Oath*, who now haue great scruple & repugnance of Conscience therein: both for that the chiefe learned men of their Church, doe hold the same for vtterly vnlawfull, being mixed and compounded, as it is, and the voyce of their chiefe Pastour, to whome by the rules of their Religion, they thinke themselves bound to harken in like cases, hath vtterly condemned the same: and the very tenour of the *Oath* it self, and last lines therof are, *That euery one shall*

An humble
petition to
his Maiesty
for exposition
of the
Oath.

swear without any Equiuocation, or mentall reservation at all, that is to say, hartily, willingly, & truely vpon the true faith of a Christian. Which being so, they see not how they may take the said Oath in truth of Cōscience: for so much, as they find no such willingnes in their harts, nor can they induce themselues in a matter so neerly concerning the Confession of their faith, to Equiuocate or sweare in any other sense, then from his Maiesty is proposed: and therefore doe thinke it lesse hurt to deny plainly, and sincerely to sweare, then by swearing, neither to giue satisfaction to God, nor to his Maiesty, nor to themselues, nor to their neighbours. And so much of this point.

3. XXXIII. There followeth an other, which is the third, about this matter; where this Apology saith, *That God did blesse this godly deuise and intent (of making, and vrging this Oath) by the admittance thereof by so many Priests & Laicks: &c.* Which blessing (if it be a blessing) must concerne cyther the takers, or the exhibitours, or both. But for the takers, what inward blessing of comfort in conscience they may haue receaued thereby, I know not: But for outward blessing, I see small, for they remaine, either in prisons, or vnder pressures still, as hath bene said. But for others of the same Religion that cannot frame their Consciences to take the said Oath, and yet would gladly giue his Royall Maiesty contentment & satisfaction, so farre as they might, without offending God; I can assure yow, that it is the greatest affliction of mynd, among other pressures, that euer fell vnto them. For that no violence, is like to that, which is laied vpon mens Consciences; for so much, as it lyeth in a mā owne will & resolutiō, to beare all other oppressions whatsoeuer, whether it be losse of goods, honours, dignities, yea of life it self: but the oppression of the Conscience, no man may beare patiently, though he would neuer so faine. For if he yield therein, he offendeth.

The vrging of the Oath, how heauy a pressure to Catholicks of tender consciences.

deth God, and leese his soule: neyther doth *Metus cadens in constantem virum*, feare that may terrify euen a constant man, excuse in this behalfe, as appeareth by the example of the auncient Martyrs, who were forced, vnder paine of damnation, to stand out to death against all humaine power, vexations, torments, and highest violence, rather then to doe, say, or sweare any thing against their Conscience. To all these men then, which are thowfands in our Countrey, that neuer thought otherwise then to be good Subiects to his Maiesty, the deuising of this new Oath, was no blessing, but an vnspokeable affliction, and angariation of mynd.

XXXIV. To the exhibitours also, I see not what blessing it could be, or can be, so extremely to vex other men without any profit, or emolument to themselues, or to his Maiestyes seruice, which herin they would pretend to aduance. For if there be any cause of doubt, of loyall good will in them, that are forced to sweare against their consciences: much more cause and reason may there be of like doubt, after they haue so sworne, then before. For that the griefe of their new wound of conscience remayning still within them, and stirring them to more auersion of hart, for the iniury receaued, must needes worke contrary effects to that which is pretended. And whosoeuer will not sticke to sweare against his conscience for feare, fauour, or some other like passion, may be presumed, that he will as easly breake his Oath, after he hath sworne, vpon like mooues, if occasions doe mooue him. And among all other passions, none is more strong, then that of reuenge for oppressions receaued: So as we read of the whole Monarchy of *Spaine* ouerthrowne, and giuen to the *Mores*, for one passion of Count *Iulian*, wherby he desired to be reuenged of his King *Roderiquez*. Nothing then is gotten in this behalfe of

Nothing
gayned at
all by en-
forcing the
Oath, but
much lost.

Roder. To-
letan. lib. 3.
hist. Hisp.
cap. 18.

loyall good will, by such extreame pressures, but much rather lost.

1. Cor. 8.
Rom. 14.
Matth. 18.

How grie-
uous a
synne it is
to force
men to
sweare a-
gainst their
consciēces.

XXXV. But besides all this, is the grievous sinne which they commit, who force, & presse other men to sweare against their consciences, then which, almost nothing can be imagined more heinous: for it is to thrust men headlong (especially such as are fearfull) into the very precipitation and downfall of hell it selfe. For it is the highest degree of scandall active, so much condemned and detested in Scriptures, and so dreadfully threatned by our Saviour, to be severely punished in the life to come: for that scandalizing properly, is nothing else, but laying a stumbling-block for other men to fall, and breake their necks. And such a one is this formall *Oath*, which conteyneth diuers things lawfull for a Catholicke to sweare and other things vnlawfull: and he is forced by terrour to passe ouer, and swallow downe the one with the other, without distinction, with manifest repugnance of his Conscience; which repugnance to him, is alwaies a synne, & damnable in such a publicke and weighty action, though the matter were lawfull in it self, and consequently also vnto them, that force him to the same, eyther knowing or suspecting his said repugnance of Conscience. For he that should force a Iew, or Turke to sweare, that there were a blessed Trinity, eyther knowing or suspecting that they would doe it against their Conscience, should synne grievously, by forcing them to commit that synne. This is Catholicke doctrine, which I also thinke the learned Protestants themselues will not deny.

XXXVI. Here if any man object, that among vs also men are vrged to take Oathes, and to abiure their opinions in the tribunalls of Inquisitions, and the like; and consequently in this *Oath* they may be forced vnder punishment to abiure the Popes Temporall Authority

in dealing with Kings : I answered first , that if any Hereticke, or other should be forced to abiure his opinions , with repugnance of conscience , it should be a synne to the inforcers , if they knew it , or suspected it . Neyther is it practised or permitted in any Catholicke Court , that euer I knew . But yow will reply , that if he doe it not , he shall be punished by death , or otherwise , as the crime requireth , and Canons appoint , and consequently the like may be vsed towards Catholickes , that will not renounce their old opinions of the Popes Authoritie : but heere is a great difference ; for that the Catholicke Church hath *Ius acquistum* , auncient right ouer Hereticks , as her due Subiects , for that by their Baptisme , they were made her Subiects , and lest her afterward , and went out of her ; and she vseth but her auncient manner of proceeding against them , as against all other of their kynd and quality from the beginning . But the Protestant Church of *England* hath *Nullum Ius acquistum* vpon Catholicks , that were in possession before them , for many hundred yeares , as is euident . Neyther was there euer any such Oath exacted at their hands , by any of their Kings , in former Catholicke tymes : Neyther is there , by any Catholicke forreyne Monarch , now liuing vpon earth , and consequently , by no reason or right at all , can English Catholicke men , be eyther forced or pressed to this Oath against their Conscience , or be punished , beaten , or destroyed , if for their Conscience they refuse to take the same : humbly offering notwithstanding to their Soueraigne , to giue him all other dutifull satisfaction , for their Temporall Obedience and Allegiance , which of loyall Catholicke Subiectes may be exacted . And this shall suffice for this first point , concerning the contents

Obiections
answered.

rents and nature of the *Oath*. Now shall
we passe to say somewhat of the
Breues, and answere made
thereunto.

CON-





CONCERNING
THE
POPES TVVO BREVES,
AGAINST
The receauing of the *Oath*.

Paragr. I I.

THE summe of the Popes two *Breues* the first of the 21. of September, Anno 1606. the second of the 21. of August the next yeare following, is this: That whereas he had heard, that the Catholicks of *England*, were very sorely pressed with a new deuised *Oath*, against their Consciēces, concerning certayne poyntes, appertayning to the Authority of the Sea Apostolicke, in some cases; he wrote the first *Breue*, to admonish, comfort, and direct them; signifying his hartie sorie for their long continued afflictions, and exhorting them to patience, and constancy in defence of the integrity of Catholike faith, and the

D

purity

The summe of the two *Breues*.

purity of their owne consciences. And after this setting downe *verbatim* the whole *Oath*, as it lyeth in the Statute, he condemneth the taking therof, as vnlawfull vnto a Catholicke man, in regard of diuers clauses therein conteyned, contrary to the said integrity of Catholicke faith, and health of soules; though in particuler, he descendeth not to dispute, or discusse the reasons, or poynts therof, as became not a Iudge: especially seeing (as he saith) the matters themselues be euident by the wordes of the *Breue*. And whereas this first *Breue* was soone after called into question by some, as not proceeding from the Popes owne motion, and intention: his second *Breue* was set forth to approue, ratify, and confirme the former; assuring all Catholicks, that both the one, and the other came from him directly, sincerely, & vpon due deliberation, and consequently, that they were to be acknowledged, and obeyed by all true Catholicke people. This is the summe of what the Pope wrote: now lett vs see, what aduantage is taken by the Apologer against the same.

I I. First of all he ielteth at the Popes sorrow for Catholicks afflictions, making them to be none at all: and whereas the late *Q. Elizabeth* is not so much as named in eyther of these *Breues*, this man will needes bring her in perforce, and iustifie her actions against Catholicke people, therby the more to animate his Ma.^{tie} to follow her example, setting downe this notorious false position concerning her, and her doings, *That according to his owne knowledge, her Ma.^{tie} neuer punished any Papist for Religion.* Which how he can iustify, or by what Equiuocation mantayne, I know not. But being not content with this, he passeth further, and rageth exceedingly against those innocent Priests, Students, and others, that only for the profession of their Religion, gaue vp their lyues vnder her, as by their inditements, and arraignmentes in publike record doth appeare, and
conclu-

concludeth finally both of her, and them, thus: *This Gracious Princess was as free from persecution, as these hellish Instruments from the honour of Martyrdome. And yet further, very profanely: Having now sacrificed, as I may say (quoth he) to the Manes of my defunct Soueraigne, as well for the discharge of my particuler duty, as loue of verity; I must next performe my duty also to his Ma.^{tie} present, &c.*

III. Wherunto a man might answer, that if he performe it with no more verity to his *present Soueraigne*, then he hath done to his *defunct Soueraigne past*; he will gayne little grace (I suppose) with his Ma.^{tie} whom I hold to be of that noble nature, and magnanimity, as that he taketh such grosse-lying-flattery, rather for iniury, then obsequie. But as for his heathen, prophane sacrificing to the *Manes* or *Hob-gob-lins* of his late Lady; I confesse, that it is an office fitter for a Protestant-Minister, that thinketh it vnlawfull to pray for her soule, to deale with her *Manes* or *Infernal spirits*, then with *Celestiall*, by praying for her to *Saints*. But would God these *Manes* might now haue licence to appeare, and talke with him, and relate what passeth with her after all this ioylity, and ruffe in this world; I doubt not but they would coole his excessiue veyne of flattering vanity. For if all the old platforme of *Saints lyues*, prescribed in *Scriptures* and practised by seruants of God, were not erroneous & vayne, as much fasting, continuall prayer, dayly mortification, frequent recollection, diligent chastisement of their bodyes, humble and feruent deuotion, labouring and working saluation in feare and trembling, abundant almes-deedes, haire-cloth and athes, contrition, sorrow and sobbing for synnes: If these things (I say) were the ancient wayes to lyfe, and to euerlasting saluation: then must the pathes of *Q. Elizabeth*, which are knowne by most men, to haue byn, eyther wholly different, or most opposite to these, lead to an other opposite end, *Quia*

See Stowes
Chronicle
in the
death of
M. Mayne
anno 1577.
of M. Nel-
son anno
1578. of M.
Shirwood
anno 1578.
of M. Hanse
1581. &c.
Apol. Pag.
18.

Q. Eliza-
beth her
Manes.

vnusquisque recipiet, secundum opera sua.

I V. But not to enter into these melancholicke matters of her *Manes*, or of the other world, to make any certayne iudgement therof, before we arryue thither: I will only speake a word or two of the world present, and this with protestation, that it is wholly against my will, and against the generall inclination (as I take it) of all Catholicke people, who would in charity be content, that the memory of her actions, & iniuries against them, being neuer so many, & iniurious, were buried with her body; as may well appeare by their long silence therein since her death. But the continuallegging of the aduersary is such, as forceth vs to say somewhat, for our owne defence, and for cleering the cause, and men, by her so eagerly and iniuriously pursued.

Apol. pag.
16.

V. This Minister then, as in part you haue heard, maketh her, *The most myld, dolce, patient, and clement Princeesse in the world*, euen ynto Catholicks, whose blood she shed so abundantly, both at home, & abroad, during all the time of her raigne: nay, *That her Ma.^{tie} neuer punished any Papist for religion:* And, *That she was most free from all persecution: That she neuer medled with hard punishment of any Catholicke, nor made any rigorous lawes against them before the excommunication of Pope Pius Quintus*, that was in the eleuenth yeare of her raigne: And yet is it knowne, and cannot be denyed, but that the most grieuous law, & Oath of Supremacie, & rigorous penall Statute against saying, or hearing Masse, were made long before that tyme: And that all the Bishops, Prelates, Religious, & chiefe Ecclesiasticall men were depriued, spoyled, imprisoned, or forced into banishment: and this before the Pope vsed any Censure against her at all: so exact, & punctuall is the truth of this Ministers narration. And not content with this, he doth prosecute odious comparifons, betweene the Pope, & her, laying all the
origen

See Sâders
lib. 7. de Ec-
clesiastica
Monarchia:
who fet-
teth down
the parti-
cular per-
sons.

origen of hurts and wickednes to him, and merit of vertue, and innocency to her, which is the very same, that is mentioned by the Prophet, *to call euill good; & good euill.*

Isa. 5.

V I. Nor is he alone in this deuise, but that all Ministers commonly, and Ministers mates of later dayes haue taken vp this Common place, to celebrate her high prayſes, for diſgrace o. Catholicks. And one among the reſt, that for his place, ſhould haue more equity and diſcretiō, hath decrymed vpon this matter in publicke Audience more then once, eſpecially vpon the occaſion of certayn words in Pope Clements *Breue*, where ſhe is named *Mifera Famina*, a miſerable woman (in reſpect no doubt of the myſeries of her ſoule, little reſpected by her:) vpon which words the *Orator* triumpheth thus, *What miſerable? It is ſaid, That, Miſeria conſtat ex duobus contrariis, copia & inopia, copia tribulationis, & inopia conſolationis, Miſery conſiſteth of two contraries, of aboundance, and penury, aboundance of iribulation, & penury of conſolation.* And then he ſheweth in what aboundance of conſolations *Q. Elizabeth* lyued in all her life, & without want of all tribulations: which if it were true, yet is it but the argument which the worldlings vſed in the *Pſalme*, to proue their felicity, that their cellars are full, their ſheepe fertile, theyr kyne fatt, they ſuffer no loſſe: and then, *Beatum dixerunt populum cui hac ſunt*; Happy did they call the people that had theſe things. But the Holy Ghoſt ſcorneth them, and ſo may all men do our *Orator*, that vſeth and vrgeth ſo baſe an argument, in ſo high a matter.

Lo. Cooke
in the
booke of
the late
Arraign-
ments fol.
63.

Pſalm. 143.

V II. And as for his definition of *Miſerie*, by *Copia* and *Inopia*, ſtore and want, it is a miſerable one indeed, and neuer heard of before, I thinke, to come from any mans mouth, but his owne: it being ridiculous in Philoſophy, and fitt to be applyed to any thing that hath either ſtore or want: As a wiſe man in this ſort

may be defined to be him, that hath store of witt, and want of folly; and a foole to be him, that hath store of follie, and want of witt; and so a rich man is he that hath store of riches and want of beggary; and a poore man is he, that hath store of beggary, and penury of riches. And are not these goodly definitions (thinke you) for so great and graue a man to produce?

Cooke ib.
pag. 64.

VIII. But to returne to the matter it selfe of *Q. Elizabeth* her store of consolations, and penury of desolations in this life, *VVho* (saith this our Orator) *was so miraculously protected by God, so strengthened and fortified, as she did beate her most potent enemy, did sett vp a King in his kingdome, defended nations, harboured distressed people, and the like.*

Supposing all this were true, that she had such temporall felicity in this lyfe, and were so miraculously protected, strengthened, and fortified by God as heere is said: yea and that it were euident, that God had chosen her for his elected seruant (which yet doth not appeare) and gyuen her that tytle and power, to afflict the Catholicks: yet had that byn no more, then we read in the Scriptures to haue byn gyuen to dyuers Pagan Princes, and namely to *Nabuchodonosor*, of whom *Jeremy* the prophet testifyeth in sundry places of his Prophecy, That God chose him, called him his seruant, and gaue him speciall power, fauour, & protection to afflict his people. *Ego dedi omnes terras istas in manu Nabuchodonosor Regis*

Hier. 27. 6.

„ *Babylonis serui mei*, saith God: I haue gyuen all these
„ Countryes into the hands of *Nabuchodonosor* King of
„ Babylon my seruant, and all nations shall serue him, &
„ yield obedience to him, and to his Sonne, and Sonnes
„ sonne: And what soeuer nation shall not serue him, &
„ bow his necke vnder his yoke, I will visite that nation
„ with the sword, with famyne, and with plague, till I

Hier. 25. 9.

„ haue consumed them by his hand. And agayne in an other
„ place: I will choose vnto me my seruāt *Nabuchodonosor* king
„ of *Babylon*, & will bring him vpon this Land, and vpon
all

all the inhabitants therof, and vpon all nations round about &c. And yet further God said vnto *Ieremy*: Thus saith the Lord o: *Hofes*, I shall take vnto me my seruant *Nabuchodonosor*, and shall place his throne vpon these stones &c.

I X. By all which is euident that *Syr Edward Cookes* argument is worth nothing: that for so much as God so miraculously protected *Q. Elizabeth*, (if it were myraculous,) so strengthened, and fortified her, as she did beate her most potent enemy, & did set vp an other King in his Kingdome (if any such thing were:) yet this did not make her happie. As neyther it did *Nabuchodonosor*, of whome God said in the same place, that when he had serued his turne of him, and wrought his will by his hand, and people, for the purging of his ownelect; he would visit vpon him also, and his Countrey, and that in a farre more grieuous sort: *Ponam illam in solitudines sempiternas, & reddam eis secundum opera eorum, & secundum facta manuum suarum*: I shall make that Countrey, an euertlasting wildernes, and shall restore to them (that afflicted my people) according to their workes, and to the deeds of their owne handes against my people. This then was his felicity to be a scourge to others, and finally also to himselfe most of all.

How Nabuchodonosor was the seruant of God.

Hier. 25.11.

X. And the like, I doubt not, may be said of *Q. Elizabeths* felicity against Catholicks, if we knew all, that in the last day of iudgment will appeare, and wherof her lametable end may gyue great presage to them that are wise. For that for a woman of so long and large a lyfe, as hers was, to passe hence to eternity with so small sense or feeling of God, as neuer so much, as to name him, nor to suffer * othersto bring in any speech therof, as they attempted to do, is so pittifull an end, as can lightly fall to a Christian soule: The story of which vpsnot of hers, I haue read written by a person of much credit that was present at all her last sicknes, combats, and

* Archb. of Canterb.

and death, and relateth all that passed as an eye witnesse, which I passe ouer for breuity and modestyes sake; but it will remayne to posterity, as a dreadfull patterne of a miserable end, after a lyfe of so much ioylitie.

XI. And thus much for spirituall infelicities, reaching to the next world, and lyfe or death to come. But if we would rest our selues only vpon vayne & bricke felicityes of this world, they were not (alas) so great in Queene *Elizabeth*, but that they were mingled and interlaced with many, and great infelicities in like manner, and these such, as did euen in the eyes of worldly men, ouerpoise the other, especially with them that repute honour and dishonour among humane felicityes, & infelicities. For what more dishonorable infelicity can there be, then that which standeth in *Capite Libri* of *Q. Elizabeths* lyfe? To witt, the publike solemne Statute, and Act of *Parliament*, made within few dayes after she was borne, vpon the 28. yeare of King *Henryes* raigne, and yet extant in Print, wherein it is declared, not only by the iudgment of the King, and of all that *Parliament*, but by the iudiciall sentence also of Archbishop *Crammer*, she was pronounced, to be vnlawfully borne, and that her mother was neuer King *Henryes* lawfull wyfe: wherupō the said statute vseth these wordes: That it was against all honour, equity, and good conscience, that the said *Elizabeth* should succeed in the Imperiall Crowne of England. And could there be any greater worldly infelicity thē this.

XII. Ilet passe many other infelicities, which happened by her occasion to sundry, as well vnder the raigne of King *Edward*, as the ruine of the *Seymers* vpon the Admiralls falling in loue with her, and making away his former wife Queene *Catherine Parre* to enioy her; as also vnder Queene *Marie*, when so many rebellions of *Vviat*, *Courtney*, *Carewes*, *Stafford*, & others, were made for her. But her owne raigne had most infelicities for her, if they

Queene Elizabeth
her felicityes mingled with
infelicities.

Q. Eli. her
dishonourable birth
an. 28. Stat.
Cap. 7.

they were well considered; and I could touch many, but modestie forbiddeth. And least I should seeme to speake out of reuenge, let this one consideration serue for all; That after all her afflicting Catholicks, and by that exercise, vpon the egging of others, more then of her owne propension, she was drawne into continuall suspirations, teares, and frights of her mynd and spirit, euen in the midst of all these sensuall delights, & contentments (admired so much by her Attorney) which draue her to a point, wherunto by nature she was not thought much inclyned, and by profession and protestations, she most condemned in others, to wit, Cruelty, which in effect was such, out of the fore said feares, towards Catholicke Religion, as neuer perhaps (yea without perhaps) were so many seuerall lawes, & punishments deuised by any one persecutour, nor many putt together, as are extant of hers in Print, against the proecessours of that Religion, wherof herselfe had byn one, and in secret or priuate speeches also would not deny, to be in sundry poyntes, euen to her dying day. And was not this a great infelicity? When strangers do read & behold her Edicts & Statutes, wherein not only the whole vse of Catholicke Religion is condemned, and vnder greiuous punishment prohibited: but men are forced also, by rigorous penall lawes to go to the Churches of a contrary Religion, to communicate with them, to do acts, and sweare against their owne Religion, faith and Consciences: that there are seuerer punishments, of losse of goods and lands, for receyuing an *Agnus Dei*, or a *Medall*, or *Crucifix*: greiuous punishments, for keeping of a Catholicke seruant, or Schoolemaister to teach and bring vp their children, or to send them ouer seas to Catholicke Schooles: yea, that it is the payne of death it selfe to be reconciled, by confessing his synnes to the Roman Church, or to the vnion of faith, with the Head thereof, or to perswade

The infelicity of Cruelty.

Q. Elizab. her cruell persecutiōs

another to be a Catholicke, or do the same: When they read these things (I say) and many others, which for breuity I pretermitt, and that all this notwithstanding, she would not haue it said, *That she persecuted any for Religion* (which in manner this Apologer itticketh not to auouch) *nor put any Priest to death for that cause in deed*, whereas notwithstanding she shed the blood of aboue one hundred and thirty, that might haue had their lyues euen at the last cast, if in this one point of Religion they would haue yielded neuer so little. All this (I say) being read and considered, seemeth vnto forreiners a strange infelicity both of body and soule.

XIII Especially when it is considered to what perpetuall ielosy at length she was brought vnto, of all sorts of people, *Puritans, Papists*, yea of her owne dearest, as the death of the Earle of *Essex*, and his followers, doth easily declare. Neyther was there any weeke lightly, but that she had some new teares, of some Priest or Iesuite, or Catholicke soldiours sent from *Flanders, France*, or *Italy* to kill her by violence, others from *Spainne*, and other Countreyes to poyson her, or at least, her * Chaire. And vpon such fancies, men must be made away for greater terrour; yea Iewes must be brought in also in this kynd of pretended poysoning, as the case of Doctor *Lopez* well declareth. Nay further this gryping passion of feare and ielosy did so vex & consume her inwardly, as she was neuer well, vntill she had made away, against all law of Nature and Nations, the nearest vnto her in Royall blood, that lyued vpon earth, and coequall with her in dignity, if in sundry respects not Superiour, I meane his Ma.^{ties} noble renowned Mother, *Queene of France & Scotland*, that by force of the former Statute, which declared this other for illegitimate and incapable of the Crowne (as now yow haue heard) should haue enjoyed the Crowne of *England* presently after the death of *Q. Marie*, & consequently

* The fiction of Squier an. 1598.

Q. Eliz. her dealing towards her cosen of Scotland.

quently his Ma.^{tie} had enioyed the same 38. yeares at least, before he came vnto it after her death, who of all other lyuing Creatures, is knowne most hartily to haue hated that yssue & succession. And as she went about to disfinable the same in the very roote & fountayne it selfe, by seeking the disgrace of the offspring, by dishonour of the origen: so neuer ceased she afterward to continue practises against them both, vntill she had wracked the one, and brought the other also to great probability therof, if she might haue lyued to her will, or haue dyed with such vse of senses and iudgment, as might haue made way to her bad affections in that behalfe.

XIV. Well then, all this I haue bene enforced to speake vpon this occasion: first to repressse somewhat therby the insultation of our foresaid Orator, in calling her, *The happy Queene, the blessed Queene, whose vnmatched wisdom, and vnconquered prowesse* (to vse his words) *crowned her the peerlesse wonder of her sexe.* All which tendeth to the exprobration of Catholicks, for hauing had so happy & peerles a persecutour; and to the insultation also ouer the Pope, for calling her in his *Breue*, as he saith, *Miseram Fœminam*, a miserable woman: which how true or false it is, I leaue to the prudent Reader out of the former discourse, about her byrth, youth, age and end, to censure.

XV. Secondly I do heerin but imitate the first ancient Fathers, that wrote for defence of those holy Martyrs, that dyed for Christian Religion in the Primitive Church, as namely, *Iustinus Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian*, and others, who to comfort the afflicted, and to honour more their cause, did put them in mynd what manner of people their first persecutours were; as namely *Nero* and *Domitian*, what lyfe they led, what end they made, and the like; And that indeed they were fit instruments, to be the first, in such a worke. And the like we may say to Catholicks of *Q. Elizabeth*, that she

Lo. Cooke
in his
Charge at
Norwich.
4. August.
1606.

What mā-
ner of Per-
secutour
Q. Eliza-
beth was.

being the strangest woman that euer was borne for diuers circumstances, now partly touched, and the first absolutly of that sexe, eyther Christian or created, that tooke vpon her Supreme power in Spirituall and Ecclesiasticall matters; it must needes be some comfort to Catholicke people, that God chose such an instrument to be their first scourge, out of all woman kynd.

XVI. And lastly, for that this Apologer will needs take vpon him, to *sacrifice to her Manes*: I thought my selfe obliged to offer some incense in like maner to the same, for mitigating the euill sent, which that notorious vntrue assertion must needs import, to the senses of all vnderstanding Readers: That, *Queene Elizabeth neuer punished any Papist for Religion, Nor made any rigorous law against them, before Pius Quintus his Excommunication, nor since that tyme, but vpon priuate plots, machinations, &c.* For cleare confutation wherof, I remit those of the elder sort that lyue in England, to their owne eyes, eares, and other externall senses, and those of yonger age, to the books of Statutes, of *Q. Elizabeths* tyme, *Iohn Stowes* Chronicle, and other such publicke Records. And so much of this poynt.

XVII. Next after these exaggerations of the *clemency and indulgence of Q. Elizabeth* towards Catholicks, this Apologer passeth on to bestow some of his adulation, and *oleum peccatoris*, vpon his Ma.^{tie} in like manner that now raigneth, telling vs, That his *kyndnes and benefits bestowed vpon that sort of people, haue bene farre greater then those of Q. Elizabeth*; which may easily be, as, by that, which hath bene touched, may appeare. Yet do we verily perswade our selues, that if his Highnes had byn left to himselfe, and to his owne Royall nature, and noble disposition in this poynt (as * *Q. Elizabeth* was wont to say of her disposition in religion) we had tasted, indeed, much of this his great humanity, and so we began, for some tyme: but being preuented and diuerted by the subtil workings of this, and other such Ministers, as de-
fired

* See Answer. to Syr Edward Cooke ca. 15.

syred to draw bloud, and to incite his Maieſtie againſt vs, we hauing no place to ſpeake for our ſelues, no admittance to be heard, no effectuall interceſſour to interpoſe his mediation for vs; no maruaile though wee were caſt off, and do indure the ſmart.

XVIII. And I do name this Miniſter (T. M. the yonger) in the firſt place among the reſt, for that it is commonly ſaid, that his whole exerciſe is Sycophancy and calumniation againſt men of our profeſſion, be they ſtrangers, or domeſticall: and that among other deuifes, he hath this; That euery tyme his Ma.^{tie} is to take his repaſt, he is ready, eyther with ſome tale, ieſt, ſcoffe, or other bitter lance to wound vs abſent, and that he hath euer lightly, ſome booke and page therof, ready to read to his Highnes, ſomewhat framed by his art to incenſe or auert his Ma.^{tie} more, eyther in iudgement, or affection, or both; and therby to draw from him ſome hard ſpeeches, which being publiſhed afterward by himſelfe, and others, do ſerue to no other end, but to gail and alienate myndes, and to afflict them, that are not ſuffered to giue reaſon for themſelues. And that is the ſeruice he doth his Ma.^{tie} in this exerciſe.

XIX. And as for the places themſelues, which he uſeth to bring forth with his wet finger, as is ſaid, we are to imagine, that they are no better, nor more fitly applyed, then ſuch as he hath ſett forth againſt vs in this booke, & perhaps ſomewhat worſe, for that he might probably thinke, that this booke would be examined, comming forth with ſo great pretence of authority, as it doth: And therefore if heere yow fynd him to uſe calumniation, & moſt impertinent citation of Authours, and Authorities, eyther wholly making againſt himſelfe, or nothing for his purpoſe, or againſt vs: then may yow thinke what liberty he will take to himſelfe there in ſpeech, where no man is like to contradicte him, but all applauſe is expected from the ſtanders by.

His Maieſties myld diſpoſition diuerted.

The exerciſe of the Miniſter Th. Mont.

Apol. pag.
13.

Liberty of
Conscience.

X X. Let vs heare, if yow please, one exaggeration of his, concerning his Ma.^{ties} myldnes vnto vs, and our ingratitude in abusing the same to pryde. His Ma.^{ties} government (saith he) over them hath so far exceeded that of Q.^{Elizabeth}, in mercy and clemency, as the Papists themselves grew to that height of pryde, in confidence of his myldnes, as they did directly expect, and assuredly promise to themselves liberty of Conscience, and equality with vs in all things, that are his left, and saithfull Subjects &c. Do you see what a height of pride this was? And what an abuse of his Ma.^{ties} mercie and clemencie, to expect libertie of Conscience? Why had he not objected in like manner, that they expected the libertie of breathing, and vsing the common ayre, as well as Protestants? For that neither breathing, nor the vse of comon ayre, is more due vnto them, or common to all, then ought to be libertie of Conscience to Christian men, wherby ech one liueth to God, and to himseife, and without which he strugleth with the torment of a continuall lingring death.

X X I. And surely, I cannot but wonder, that this Minister was not ashamed to call this the height of pride, which is generally found in all Protestants neuer so humble: yea the more humble, and vnderlings they are, the more earnest are they both in bookes, speeches, and preachings, to proue that liberty of Conscience is most conforme to Gods law, and that wresting, or forcing of Consciences, is the highest Tyranny, that can be exercised vpon man. And this we may see first, in all M. Fox his History, especially during the time of the three King *Henries*, 4. 5. and 6. and afterward, when those that were called *Lollards*, and *VVickeliffians*, who as M. Fox saith, were indeed good Protestants, being pressed somewhat about their Religion, did continually beate vpon this argumēt of libertie of Conscience, and when they obteyned it not, they set vp publicke schedules vpon the Church dores of *London*, and made those

those famous conspiracies of killing K. Henry the 5. and all his family, which are recounted by *Walsingham, Stow, Fox,* and other English Historiographers.

In vita Hērici quinti.

XXII. In this our age also, the first oppositiō of Protestant Princes in *Germanie*, against their Emperour *Charles* the 5. both at *Smalcald, Aufsburch*, and other meetings; as after wards also the fierce and perillous wars by the Duke of *Saxony, Marques of Brandeburge*, and other Protestant Princes, and their people, against the same Emperour, begunne in the very same yeare that our K. Henry dyed. Were they not all for liberty of Conscience? so, pretended, so printed, so published, so diuulged to the world? The first Supplications, Memorialls, and declarations in like manner, which the Protestants of *France* set forth in print: as also they of *Holland, & Zeland* in tyme of the governments, as well of the Duchesse of *Parma*, Duke of *Alua*, *Commendador Mayor*, and other Gouernours: did they not all expressly proteste, that their principall griefes were, about liberty of Conscience restrayned. And did not they cite many places of *Scriptures*, to proue the equity & necessity therof? And do not all Protestants the like at this day, in all places, where they are, both in *Polonia, Austria, Hungaria, Bohemia, Styria*, and els where? And how thē is *Iordanus conuersus retrorsum*, with this Minister? How is his voyce contrary to the voyce & sense of all the rest? How, & with what reason, may he call it *the height of pryde* in English Catholicks, to haue but hope therof, which is so ordinary a doctrine & practice of all his brethren in forraine nations, to witt, for vs to expect liberty of Conscience, at the first entrance of our new King, of so noble, and royall a mynd before that tyme, as he was neuer knowne to be giuen to cruelty, or persecutiō in his former raigne? The Sonne of such a Mother, as held her selfe much beholden to English Catholicks? And himselfe in his little *Golden* * *Booke* to his Sonne the Prince, had confessed that he had

Anno 1546

Liberty of conscience demaunded by all Protestants.

* βασιλικὸν Διάλογον.

had euer found the Catholicke party most truſty vnto him, and therupon had done ſundry fauours to diuers of them, and giuen no ſmall hope of greater vnto others?

Height of
pride, and
in whome
it may be
ſaid to be.

XXIII. From this King (I ſay) whom they ſo much loued, and honoured, receyued ſo gladly, and with vniuerſall ioy, meant to ſerue faithfully; & truſted that aſhe had vnited the two Kingdomes in one Obedience by his Succeſſion: ſo would he by his liberality, vnite and conioyne the hearts of all his Subiects, in bearing a ſweete and equall hand towards them all: From ſuch a King (I ſay) for vs to expect liberty of Conſciēce, and equality with other Subiects (in this poynt at leaſt of freedom of ſoule) *what height of pryde* may it be called? May it not rather ſeeme *height of pryde* in this Miniſter, & his ſellowes, that hauing byn old enemyes, and alwayes borne a hard, & hatefull hand, and tongue againſt his Ma.^{tie} both in their Sermons, Bookes, Speeches, all the tyme of the late Queenes raigne; now vpon the ſudayne *sine vllis meritis pracedenſibus*, will needs be ſo priuiledged, & aſſume vnto themſelues ſuch a confident preſumption of his Ma.^{ties} ſpeciall fauour, as to ſuffer no man to ſtand by them, but to hold it for *height of pryde* in vs, to hope for any freedom and liberty or our Conſcience at all? What is *height of pryde* and toily, if this be not?

Apol. pag.
19.

XXIV. But his Ma.^{tie} is wiſe, & will, as we hope, according to his prudence, in tyme, looke into this ſort of men, and manner of proceeding. And to returne to the Apologer, he reckoneth vp (therby to exaggerate the more our ingratitude) the particuler fauours his Ma.^{tie} did vnto vs, at his firſt entrance, as, *That he did honour diuers Catholicks with Knighthood, being open Recuſants: That, he gaue audience indifferently to both ſydes: beſtowed equally fauours and honours vpon both profeſſions: gaue free con. inuall acceſſe to all rankes, and degrees of Papifts in his Court and company: freeing*

Recuſants

Recusantes from their ordinarie payments: gaue order to his Iudges with his owne mouth, to spare execution of all Priests, though they were conuicted: gaue libertie by his gracious Proclamation to all Priests not taken, to go out of the Countrey by such a day, and all Priestes that were taken, were sent ouer, and sett at liberty: and many other gracious fauours & benefittes: VVhich (saith he) tyme and paper would fayle me if I would make enumeration of them all: in recounting wherof euery scrape of my pen (to vse his words) would serue but for a blot of the Popes ingratitude, and iniustice in meating his Ma.^{tie} with so hard a measure for the same. So as I thinke (quoth he) I haue sufficiently wiped of the teares from the Popes eyes, for complayning vpon such persecution &c.

Exprobra-
tion of his
Maiestyes
benefits
towards
Catholiks.

XXV. Thus writeth this man, who, in naming the Popes ingratitude, must much more include ours, that are Catholiks; for that these benefitts, such as they were, appertayned nothing to the Pope, but only in Christian charity, as a common spirituall Father and Pastour, he being otherwise a stranger vnto vs in bloud, and for other worldly respects. And as for Catholiks, they accept gratefully, whatsoeuer least fauour hath byn, or is done vnto them: and do not doubt, but that if his Ma.^{tie} had not bene preuented by sinister information, & persuation of others, they had tasted of much greater, as due vnto them, in that they are naturall borne Subiects of the Realme, most loyall in hart & affection, & neuer meaning otherwise, but to liue in most orderly and dutifull Subiection and Obedience to his Highnes, as to their liege Lord and Soueraigne.

Catholiks
dutifull
demean-
our to his
Maiesty.

XXVI. And wheras this man, for prooffe of the contrary, nameth the powder-treason of a few, therby to discredite the whole, though this calumnation haue beene answered before: yet now I ad further, as one said, *Distingue tempora, & scripturam concordabis*, If there had bene no persecution before that treason, this might haue beene assigned for some probable cause of

*Anno 1.
Iacobi Re-
gis.*

the subsequent tribulations: but all *England* knoweth, that this is not so, but that his Ma.^{ties} sweete & myld aspect towards Catholicks at his first entrance, was soone, by art of their enemyes, auerted long before the conspiracy fell out. For that, not only all the most cruell Statutes and penall Lawes made by Q. *Elizabeth* were renewed and confirmed before this, with addition of others, tending to no lesse rigour & acerbitie: but also the exaction of the same was put in practice with great seueritie; & namely the paymēt of the twenty poundes a moneth, or two partes of their goods and landes for Recusants (once remitted by his Ma.^{tie} as heere is confessed) were not only recalled againe: but the arrearages therof in like manner exacted; and for leuying wherof, throughout sundry shyres of the Realme (especially in the North) there was such ransacking of mens houses, such dryuing away of their Cattell frō their groundes, such straying of their Rents, such vexing of their tennants (not knowne perhaps to his Ma.^{tie}) as if the whole Countrey had byn gyuen quer to spoyle & desolation.

*Apol. pag.
19.*

Clemency
no cause of
desperate
attempts.

XXVII. Nor were mens goods and persons only afflicted, but the lyues also of sundry taken away for cause of their Religion before this powder-treason fell out: which desperate treason, to ascribe as an effect and fruite of too much clemency in his Ma.^{tie} (as this Minister doth) is a strange assertion, no doubt: for so much, as such effects do not proceed, but of exasperated myndes; which clemency worketh not, eyther in men or beasts. Neyther did euer any learned Philosopher, that wrote of the good institution of any Common wealth, or of the security of any Prince in his Gouernment, put such effects for fruits of clemency, but rather of the contrary manner of proceeding. And if all the disastrous ends of the most vnfortunate Princes, that euer haue byn destroyed, should be layd together, and
the

the causes therof exactly inquired, it would befound so: and consequently that this Minister is no good Counsellour to his Ma.^{ties} in this so great & weighty affayre. And we hope that Almighty God, by the mercy of his dearest Sonne our Sauour, and through the prayers of his Ma.^{ties} good Mother, and other holy Princes of his Royall bloud now in heauen, will neuer suffer him, at the egging of such exasperating people, to follow so violent, troublesome, and dangerous a course, and so contrary to theirs, whiles they lyued vpon earth, and so alienate from his owne sweete nature and Princely disposition.

XXVIII. But to proceed a litle further in the narration of some poyntes of heauy persecutiō, that ensued soone after his Ma.^{ties} being in *England*, much before the powder-treason was attempted: Who doth not know what afflictions were layd vpon Catholicks; euen in the very first yeare of his Ma.^{ties} raigne, especially towards the end therof, & much more ~~through~~ out all the second yeare, before the said powder-treason fell out. For then not only in the Shires and Prouinces abroad: but euen in *London* it selfe, and in the eyes of the Court, the violence, and insolency of continuall searches grew to be such, as was intollerable; no night passing commonly, but that Souldiours, & Catch-poles brake into quiet mens houses, when they were asleepe, and not only carryed away their persons vnto prisons at their pleasure, except they would brybe them excessively, but whatsoeuer liked them best: besydes in the house, cyther of Bookes, Cuppes, Chalicees, or other furniture; that might any wayes seeme, or be pretended to belong to Religion, was taken for a prey, and seized on. And among others, I remember, that one friend of myne, had a drinking Cuppe of syluer taken from him, for that it had the name of *IESVS* engrauen vpon it, though otherwise the forme therof did well shew, that

The cruelty of searches.

it was but a Cuppe, & no Chalice. And these searches were made with such violence, and insolency, as diuers gētlewomé were drawne or forced out of their beds, to see whether they had any sacred thing, or matter belonging to the vse of Catholick Religion, either about them, or vnder their bedds.

XXIX. What shall I speake of the casting into prisons, & condemnation to death of many Catholicks for the same cause, in euery corner lightly of the Countrey, as namely in *London* of *M. Hill* the Priest, and this only for his function, and for comming into *England* against the Statutes of *Queene Elizabeth* to the contrary? Of *M. Sugar* also an other Priest in *Warrwicke*, that was not only condemned, but * executed withall rigour in that Cittie for the same cause, and a lay man with him named *Robert Gryfold*, for receyuing him into his house? At *Oxford* also foure Priests being taken at that tyme whose names were *M. Greene*, *Tichborne*, *Smith*, and *Brisco*, all had sentence of death passed vpon them; though after many afflictions suffered in the pryson there, which made them desyre much the speedy execution of the sentence gyuen against them, they had instead of this one death, many deathes layd vpon them, by sending them prisoners to the Castle of *Wvisbich*, where they receyued such cruell vsage both in their diet, lodging & other treatie, as made euen dyuers Protestants to take compassion of them. And why was all this, but for their Religion?

XXX. I let passe the condemnation to death of a poore man in *Oxford* named *Shitell*, for that the Priest *M. Greene* had fledde into his house, when he was pursued by the searchers, through which condemnation, & perpetuall imprisonment therupon ensuing, were brought to extreme misery & calamity, his poore wyfe and children, most lamentable to behold, or heare recounted. And vpon like occasion was apprehended, impri-

* Anno
1604. mense
Augusti.

imprisoned, condemned, & executed in *Torke*, about the same tyme, an other Lay-man named *Thomas VVylborne*, only for that he had vsed some words of perswasion to a certayne woman to be a Catholicke, notwithstanding the prohibition of her husband, who followed so hoatly the matter against him, as he caused him to be put to death. I pretermit *M.^{ties} Shelley* a Gentlewoman of good Worthipp, cast into the common Iayle at *VVorcestre* for that the Priest *M. Hassells*, was found in her house. The apprehension in like manner, & condemning to death of *M. Edward Tempest* Priest and Gentlemā in London at the same tyme. I passe ouer the cruell sentence of cutting of the ears, of so ancient & venerable a Gentleman, as is *M. Tho. Pound*, that had lyued aboue thirty yeares in sundry prisons only for being a Catholicke, and now last in his old age, had that honour from God, as to be sentenced to leese his eares and stand on the Pillorie in dyuers markets, for complayning of hard measure, & iniust execution, vsed against Catholicks, contrary (as he presumed) to his Ma.^{ties} intention.

Diuers ex-
amples of
seuere per-
secution.

XXXI. And tynally I passe ouer what was practised in *Heresfordshire*, *Lancashire*, & other places in this kynd of persecution, and particularly concerning the new angariation and pressure, then first brought vp, that men should be bound to pay for their wyues, that were Reculants, a thing neuer before exacted in the former Queenes tyme. I pretermit also to mention, how his Ma.^{tie} before this, had reiected the cōmon, & humble supplication of Catholicks, exhibited in writing for some toleratiō, & mitigation of the calamityes: the which supplication was answered with contempt & insultatiō by a Minister, and put in print. His Ma.^{tie} in like manner had gyuen publike audience both to *Protestants* & *Puritanes* for three dayes togeather, concerning the differences of their Religion: but to Catholicks he neuer yeailed to gyue any at all. And how then can this Apologer talke so

much of equality vsed in all fauours? How can he say, that there was no persecution before the powder-treason?

XXXII. But let vs go forward yet somewhat further: his Maieftie had before this tyme vpon other mens importunity, confirmed, and ratified by his Letters Patents, all that heape of Constitutions, and Canons, (being in number aboue an hundred & fourty) which the BB. of *London & Canterbury*, had deuised, & set forth against Catholicks, for their greater vexation, & affliction. Out of which hath flowed since a huge sea of molestations and exagitations, by searchings, spoyles citations, apprehensions, excommunications, and other violences, vpon innocent and quiet people, by the rauenous hungry Pursuants of those Prelats, and other their Catch-poles, without respect, either of Iustice, or hope of remedy, for iniuries by them offered. There had passed also before this, the speech of the *L. Chancelour* in the Star-Chamber, and the Sermon of the B. of *London* at *Paules-Crosse*, both of them tending to take all hope from Catholicks of any least fauour, that might be expected, and the former expressly charging the Iudges in his Ma.^{ties} name, to vse all seuerity in seeking out and punishing them. Which things being seene, and farre worse feared, yea designed also and threatned, as those Gentlemen apprehended it, (especially at the next Parliament) cast them into that wofull impatience, and precipitation, which the euent declared.

XXXIII. All this then which the Apologer heere telleth vs, of Catholicks ingratitude for so many benefits receyued, during his Ma.^{ties} raigne, and, *That it is a mayne vntruth (to vse his words) and can neuer be proued, that any persecution hath beene in his said Ma.^{ties} gouernment, or that any were, or are put to death or punished for cause of Conscience, is such a kynd of speech, as if it were told in the Indies, many thousand myles off, where nothing is knowne of*

our

The B. of
Londons
Sermon 5.
August.
1605.

Apol. p.
21.

our Countreyes affayres, might perhaps fynd some hearers that would belieue it : but in *England* to auouch such a thing in Print, where all mens outward senses, eyes & eares are witnessses of the cōtrary, is a strange boldnes. For as for persecution in goods and lands, as also of mens bodyes by imprisonment, and other vexations, who can deny the same, that will not shut his said eyes, or eares, from seeing and hearing that which daylie passeth within the Realme. And when nothing els were: Yet those two seuerall and most memorable Statutes, to witt, the 4. and 5. made in the third yeare of this Kings raigne, conteyning more seuerall heads of affliction, and angariation against Catholicke-Recusants for their meere Conscience, then euer, perhaps, in the world were seene extant, against any one sorte of wicked men, or malefactors before; do easily conuince the yntruth of this asseueration about freedom from persecution. And as for death, which is lesse greiuous to many then those other persecutions, the late example of *M. Robert Drury*, and now againe these last monethes past, of *M. Matthew Flathers*, & *M. Geruis Prieltes* (to omit others) that dyed expressly for refusing this late deuised Oath, since the powder-treason, cannot, I thinke, be answered, except he will say, that this Oath hath no matter of Conscience in it for a Catholicke man to receaue: the contrary whereof we haue euidently shewed before, by many demonstrations.

XXXIV. Wherefore, that which he addeth immediately, insinuating, and expressly threatning, that as there hath beene no persecution, or putting to death before (which is not true as I haue shewed:) so now so much as the Pope hath interposed his Authority, and forbidden the Oath as vnlawfull, there may chance be greater persecution, and more abundant shedding of blood, which (as he saith) must light vpon the Popes head, for this his prohibition: All this (I say) is so spoken

as

Increase
of persecu-
tion since
the pow-
den-trea-
son.

Statut. 4.
& 5. Anno
3. Iacobi
Reg.

Lond. 26.
Febr. 1607.
York. 21.
Mar. 1608.
Lond. 11.
Apr. 1608.

Page. 21.

”
”
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Luc. 23. &
Matth. vlt.
Act. 24.

asech man may see, whither it tendeth: to witt, to incyte his Ma.^{tie} by such deuises, to ingulfe himselfe into the effusion of Catholickes blood, casting on the pretence, and veile of the Popes intermedling, as cause thereof: which is an ancient Art of deceit, to giue *Non causam, pro causa*: for that no iniury is euer offered vnder the name of iniury, but of iustice or merit. And our Sauour was crucified as a deceyuer of the people, & disloyall to *Cesar*: and *S. Paul* pursued as a disturber of the Weal- publicke and peace. And no suffering is so honourable, as that which commeth with a dishonourable title: so as English Catholickes must not be dismaied when they suffer for the false imputation of Ciuill Disloyaltie to their Temporall Prince, being witting to themselves, that it is indeed for their Religion, and loyalty to God, their eternall Prince, and supreme King. And this only shall suffice for this matter. For if Catholickes further affliction be determined by their Aduersaries, and permitted by God, pretences will not want how to do it. The prouerbe is already knowne, *Facile inuenies baculum, vt canem cadas*, as also the fable of *Æsop*e, that the lambe must be slayne, for that drinking farre beneath the well, he was pretended notwithstanding, to haue troubled the fountaine. Catholicks must be beaten, for that the Pope hath resolved a case of Conscience, that men may not sweare against their owne Religion. All be to the glory of God, and then fynally will they leese nothing therby, which is the only comfort in such manner of sufferings.

The



The second Part of this Paragraph.

THE other poynt only is handled by the Apologer in this Paragraph, which is a large insultation against the Pope, for that he sayth in his Breue, as heere is alledged, That the Oath cannot be taken with safety of the Catholicke faith, and of their soules health; since it conteyneth many things, that are playnly, & directly contrary to their faith and saluation. And albeit the word (*directly*) be conueyed in heere, which is not in the Popes Breue, & is of no small momēt, as all Deuines know in this matter, and therefore ought not to haue byn thrust in, as the Popes word, in a different distinct letter: yet not to stand vpon that, but vpon more grosser poyntes, and more iniurious, he presently vseth the speech, which is reported to haue byn of Auerroes the Mahometan Philosopher against Moyses Lawgiuer of the Iewes, *Multa dicit, sed pauca probat*, he saith much but proueth little, and presently passeth to this insultation, *How the naturall allegiance of Subiects to their Prince, can be directly opposite* (marke how he serueth himselfe of his owne word shifted into the text) *to the faith and saluation of soules, is farre beyond my simple reading in Deuinity, as I must*

G

thinke

Apol. pag.
21.

Vixit An.
1150.

Pag. 22.

it a strange and new assertion to proceed out of the mouth of that pretended generall Pastour of Christian soules.

The Oath
why it is
vnlawfull.

XXXVI. Heere now what abuse is offered to the words and meaning of the *Breue*, euery simple Reader will see, without any explication from me: for that the Pope doth not prohibite naturall Obedience in things lawfull; nor doth say, that such naturall, or cyuill Obedience is opposite to faith or saluation of soules; nor that the Oath is vnlawfull, for exhibiting such naturall, or cyuill Obedience: but for that, besydes this exaction of naturall Obedience, which is lawfull, it conteyneth diuers other poyntes also, concerning matters of Catholicke Religion: which poyntes being so conioyned, and couched with the other, as the one canot be sworne without those other, do make the whole Oath vnlawfull, as it lyeth, without distinction, as before hath byn declared. So as this charge is now proued, to be but a meere cauill, and calumniation, & voluntary mistaking of the question and controuerly in hand.

Rom. 13,

XXXVII. And yet doth he so insift in it, and so dilateth himselfe vpon this false surmised principle (*that Cyuill Obedience is denyed*) as though all his Discourse and Treatise depended only of this (as indeed it doth) and therefore he entreteth into the consultation therof with a great flourish of Scriptures, Fathers, and Councells (wherin he and his do abound, when they say the same that we do, but otherwise are altogether barren) as though in earnest we did deny it: which thing neuer so much as passed through our cogitations, but do hold and teach that Subiects are bound to obey their Temporall Princes in all things lawfull, and those not only good Princes, but bad also: and not only out of feare or flattery, but out of Conscience, as the Apostle teacheth *propter Conscientiam*, for Conscience sake, but not *contra Conscientiam*, against Conscience. Which being so; all is meere y impertinent, that is alledged heere by the Apologizer

loger, out of Scriptures, Fathers, and Councels, to proue, that which we grant without prooffe, & neuer denyed: which is, that temporal Princes are duely to be obeyed for Conscience sake, so long as they command nothing against Conscience. But let them shew but one only Authority, sentence, example or testimony out of any of these three kind of witneses, Scriptures, Fathers, or Councells, that we must obey Princes against our Conscience, or Religion, and I will grant he sayth somewhat to the purpose, otherwise he doth but leese tyme, and abuse his Reader in making him believe, that he saith somewhat when he saith nothing. Let vs examyne therefore some of his examples if yow please.

XXXVIII. He alledgeeth for examples out of the Scriptures, That the children of *Israel* obeyed the King of *Babylon*, as also they exhibited temporall Obedience vnto King *Pharao* of *Egypt*; as in like manner to *Cyrus* King of *Persia*: All which examples we grant to be true, and could ad many more, both of the *Iewes*, and Christians that lyued peaceably vnder Infidell Princes in those dayes. But lett one example (as I said) be brought forth, wherein they obeyed them in poynts contrarie to their Conscience or Religion, and it shall be sufficient. We read in the Prophecie of *Daniel*, that those three famous Iewes, *Sidrach*, *Misach*, and *Abdenago*, were most trustie vnto King *Nabuchodonosor* in temporall affayres, and so much esteemed by him, as he made them his vniuersall Gouvernors ouer all the workes of the Region of *Babylon*, saith the Scripture: and yet when it came to the poynt, that he would haue them for his honour and pleasure, and vpon his commandement, adore the golden *Statue*, which he had set vp; they forooke him flatly, and said to him in the presence of all his Nobility assembled together, that they were not so much as to answer him in that Commandement, nor would they do, as he had appoynted them.

Apol. pag.
22.
Hier. 27. 12.
Exod. 5. 1.
Esd. 1. 3.

Dan. 3. 12.

No obedience against God & a mans Conscience.

XXXIX. The like in effect did the ancients Iewes do with King *Pharao* of *Egypt*; for that albeit in temporall assayres they obeyed him, euen in that tyme when he oppressed, and persecuted them most: yet in that he would haue had them stay and sacrifice in *Egypt*, and not follow *Moyse* their Spirituall Superiour into the desert (notwithstanding that the King had some cause perhaps to suspect their temporall Allegiance, also by that departure, they being a potent multitude of people:) yet would they not obey him, nor do as he would haue them, when they perswaded themselves that God would haue the contrary.

Dan. 1.
Tob. 1.

1. Machab. 1.

XL. I lett passe how *Daniel* and his fellowes would not eate the meates of the King of *Babylon*, nor *Tobie* those of the *Affyrians*, & much lesse would he leaue of to bury the dead, though it were forbidden by Proclamation vnder payne of death, The *Machabees* in like manner obeyed King *Antiochus* so long, as he commanded nothing against their Law and Conscience: but when he went about to force them to sacrifice, and to eate swynes-flesh, and other things against their Law and Conscience, they refused openly to performe that Obedience. So as these places of Scriptures alledged by the Apologer, do proue nothing for him at all, but are rather flatt against him, and for vs, as yow haue seene.

Authori-
tyes of aũ-
cient Fa-
thers.

XLI. And much more do make against him, his Authorities alledged out of the ancient Fathers, for that they go about to proue the very same poynt that we heere hold, that in temporall & cyuill assayres we must obey dutifully our temporall Princes, though Infidels or Pagans: but not in matters concerning God, our Religion, or Conscience. And his very first example out of *S. Augustine* is such, as I maruaile much, that he would cyte the same, but that somewhat for shew must be alledged: For it maketh so clearly & directly against him

him, as if it had beene written purposely to confute him in this our case. But let vs heare what it is. Agreable to the Scriptures (*saith he*) did the Fathers teach. *Augustine* speaking of *Julian*, saith thus: *Julian* was an vnbelieuing Emperour, was he not an *Apostata*? an oppressor, and an Idolatour? *Christiā* souldiours serued that vnbelieuing Emperour: when they came to the cause of *Christ*, they would acknowledge no Lord, but him that is in heauen: when he would haue them worship Idolls & sacrifice, they preferred God before him: but when he said, go forth to fight, inuade such a nation, they presently obeyed: they distinguished their eternall Lord from their temporall, and yet were they subiect euen vnto their temporall Lord, for his sake, that was their eternall Lord and Maister. Thus he.

X L I I. And can any thing be spoken more cleerly for vs, and for our cause, then this? For euen thus do we offer to our King & Soueraigne: we will serue him: we will obey him: we will go to warre with him: we will fight for him: and we will do all other offices belonging to temporall duty: but when the cause of *Christ* commeth in hand, who is Lord of our Consciences, or any matter concerning the same, or our Religion; there we do, as *S. Augustine* heere appoynteth vs, preferre our eternall King, before our Temporall.

X L I I I. And like to these are all the other places of Fathers cyted by him, who distinguish expressely betweene the Temporall honour and Allegiance due to the Emperour, and the other of our Religion, & Conscience, belonging only to God. And to that playne sense are *Tertullians* words cyted by the Apologer: *VVe honour the Emperour in such sorte. as is lawfull for vs, and expedient for him, as a man second after God, and as hauing receyued from God, whatsoeuer he is, and only lesse then God. And will not the Catholicks of England vie this speech also vnto their King Or will the Apologer himselfe deny that Tertullian*

Apol. pag.
23.

August. in
Psal. 124.

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How farre
we are
bound to
our tēpo-
rall Prince.

Apol. pag.
23.

Tertull. ad
Scap.

heere meant nothing els, but in temporall affayres, for much as the Emperours at that tyme were Heathen & Gentils, and consequently were not to be obeyed in any poynt against Christian faith or Religion?

*Inst. Apol.
2. ad Antio.
Imperat.*

XLIV. The like playne doctrine haue the words of *Iustinus Martyr* to the Emperour himselfe, cyted heere in the third place, to witt: *VVe only adore God, and in all other things wee cheerfully performe seruice to you, professing you to be Emperours, and Princes of men.* And do not all English Catholiks say the same at this day, that in all other things, that concerne not God & his Obedience, by rule of Catholicke Religion, they offer cheerfully to serue his Ma. tie, acknowledging him to be their liege Lord and King, & inferiour only to god in his Temporall Government? And how then are these, and such other places brought in for witnesse, as though they had somwhat to say against vs?

*Optat. cōtra
Iarmen. li.
3. Ambros.
Orat. cōtra
Auxent. de
Basilicis nō
trāt. lib. 5.
Epist.*

XLV. The other two sentēces, in like manner cyted out of *Optatus*, and *S. Ambrose*, the first saying: *That ouer the Emperour there is none, but only God, that made the Emperour.* And the other, *That teares were his weapons against the armes, & souldiours of the Emperours: That he neyther ought, or could resist:* Neyther of them do make any thing against vs, or for the Apologer, euen as they are heere nakedly cyted, without declaration of the circumstances: for that in temporall affayres the King or Emperour is Supreme, next vnder God. And when the Emperour will vse secular forces against the Priests of his dominion, they, being no souldiours, must fall to prayers, and teares, which are Priestly weapons. But what? Did *S. Ambrose* by this acknowledge that the Emperour had higher Authority, then he, in Church-matters? Or that if he had offered him an Oath, repugnant to his Religion, or Conscience, in those matters he would haue obeyed, or acknowledged his Superiority? No truly. For in three seuerall occasions that fell out

out, he flatly denyed the same, which this Apologer craftily dissemblieth, and saith not a word therof.

XLVI. The first was, when he was cited by *Dalmatius* the Tribune, bringing with him a publicke Notarie to testify the same, in the name of the Emperour *Valentinian* the younger, to come and conferre, or dispute with the heretical Bishop *Auxentius*, in the presence of his Ma.^{tie} and other of his Nobility and Counsell, which poynt *S. Ambrose* refused utterly to do, relying the Emperour playnly by a letter, written vnto him; *That in matters of faith and Religion Bishops must iudge of Emperours, and not Emperours of Bishops.* And dyuers other doctrines, by this occasion, he taught him to that effect, as is to be seene in the same Epistle.

XLVII. The second occasion fell out the very next yeare after in *Milane*, when the said Emperour, by suite of the *Arrians*, and auour of *Iuliana* the Emperesse on their behalfe, made a Decree that a certayne Church of that Citty should be deliuered to the said *Arrians*: which Decree *S. Ambrose* the Bishop refused to obey. And when the Emperours Officers comming with armes, vrged greatly to giue possession of the Church, he fled to his former weapons of weeping and praying: *Ego Missam facere capi &c.* I began to say Masse, and when the temporall Magistrate vrged still, that the Emperour vsed but his owne right, in appoynting that Church to be deliuered, *S. Ambrose* answered, *Quæ diuina sunt, Imperatoria Potestate non esse subiecta*: That such things as belonge to God, are not subiect to the Imperiall power. And thus answered *S. Ambrose* about the gyuing vp of a materiall Church. What would he haue said in greater matters.

XLVIII. The third occasion was, when the Emperour sent his *Tribunes*, and other Officers to require certayne Vessells belonging to the Church to be deliuered, which *S. Ambrose* constantly denyed to do, saying: *That in this, he could not obey*: And further adding,

That

1.
Three occasions in which *S. Ambrose* resisted the Emperour his temporall Soueraigne.

Libellus.
Ambros.
epist. 32.

2.
Amb. l. 1.
epist. 33.

3.

Amb. Ibid.

*Ambros.
Concion. de
Basilicis nō
tradendis
hær. to. 5.*

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That if the Emperour did loue him selfe, he should abstayne from offering such iniury vnto Christ. And in another place, handling the same more at large, he saith: That he gaue to Cesar that which was Cesars, and to God that which belonged to God: but that the Temple of God could not be the right of Cesar, which we speake (saith he) to the Emperours honour. For what is more honourable vnto him, then that he being an Emperour, be called a Child of the Church, for that a good Emperour is within the Church, but not aboute the Church. So *S. Ambrose*. What would he haue done, or said, if he had bene pressed with an Oath against his Conscience, or any least poynt of his Religion?

*Apol. pag.
24.*

How *S.*
Gregory a-
greed to
the pub-
lishing of
the law of
the Empe-
rour *Mau-
ritius*.

*Greg. lib. 2.
Epistol. 65.
Indict. ii.*

I *L. Neyther* doth the last place cyted out of *S. Gregorie the Great* to the Emperour *Mauritius* make any thing more for our Apologers purpose of taking Oathes against Conscience. For albeit the same Father do greatly complayne in dyuers places of the oppression of the Church by the Kingly power of *Mauritius*, whome (though otherwise a Catholicke Emperour) he compareth in that poynt to *Nero* and *Dioclesian*, saying: *Quid Nero? quid Dioclesianus? quid denique iste, qui hoc tempore Ecclesiam persequitur? Nunquid non omnes porte Inferi?* What was *Nero*? what was *Dioclesian*? what is he who at this tyme, doth persecute the Church? Are they not all gates of Hell? Yet in this place alledged by the Apologer, he yealded to publish & send abroad into diuers Countreys and Prouinces, a certayne vniust law of the said Emperours, that prohibited Souldiours, and such as had byn employed in matters of publike accōpts of the Commō Wealth, to make themselues Monkes: which law, though *S. Gregorie* did greatly mislike, and wrote sharply against it, to the Emperour himselfe: yet to shew his due respect in temporall things vnto him, and for that indeed the law was not absolutely so euill, but that in some good sense, it might be tolerated, to witt, that

that Soldiours sworne to the Emperors warres, might not (during the said Oath & obligatiō) be receaued into Monasteryes, but with the Princes licence: yet for that it tended to the abridgment of Ecclesiasticall freedome, in taking that course or state of lyfe, which ech man chooseth for the good of his soule; *S. Gregorie* misliked the same, and dealt earnestly with the Emperour to relinquish it, or to suffer it to be so moderated, as it might stand without preiudice of Christian liberty: wherunto the Emperour at length yealded, and so *S. Gregorie* sent the same abroad vnto diuers Primates and Archbishoppes of sundry Kingdomes mencioned by him, but corrected first and reduced by himself, as supreme Pastour, to a reasonable lawfulness, and temperate moderation: to witt, That those who had borne offices of charge in the Common wealth, and after desyred to be admitted to Religious life in Monasteryes, should not be receyued, vntill they had gyuen vp their full accompts, & had obteyned publicke discharge for the same. And that soldiours which demanded the like admittance, should be exactly tryed, and not admitted vnto Monasticall habite, but after they had lyued three yeares in their lay apparell, vnder probation.

L. This determineth *S. Gregorie* in his Epistle, beginning, *Gregorius Eusebio Thessalonicensi, Urbicio Dirachitano, &c.* adding further in the same Epistle, as hath byn said, *De qua re, Serenissimus & Christianissimus Imperator omnimodò placatur*: About which matter our most Clement and Christian Emperour is wholly pleased and content. So as in this *S. Gregorie* shewed his pastorall care and power, in limiting and moderating the Emperours law, according to the law of God, though in temporall respectes he shewed him the Obedience, that was due vnto him. But what is this vnto our Oath? May we thinke that *S. Gregory*, that would not passe a temporall

*Greg. lib. 7.
Epist. 11.
Indict. 1.*

law of the Emperour, without reprehension of the vnlawfulness therof to the Emperour himselſe, and correction therof in the publication, for that indirectly it did infringe the liberty of Religious life, when men were called therunto, that he would not haue much more resisted the admiſſion of an Oath, about ſuch affayres, if it had bene propoſed? No man, I thinke, in reaſon can imagine the contrary.

Conc. Arel.
ſub Carol.
Can. 26.

L I. The laſt thing thé that is cited without purpoſe by this Apologer, are certayne Councils, which are ſaid to haue ſubmitted themſelues to Emperours, as that of *Arles* in France vnto *Charles* the Great their King: or that in the laſt wordes of the ſaid Councell, the Biſhoppes there gathered together preſenting the ſame to the ſame *Charles* write thus: *Hæc ſub breuitate, qua emendatione digna perſpeximus, &c.* Theſe things briefly which we haue ſeene worthy of reformation, wee haue noted & deemed to be preſented to our Lord the Emperour, beſeeching his Clemency if any thing be wanting to ſupply it by his wyſedome; and if any thing be otherwiſe done then reaſon requireth, it be amended by his iudgement; and if any thing be reaſonably cenſured, it may be perfected by his helpe, and by the Clemency of Almighty God. *So the Councell.* And heerof would the Apologer inferre that this Councell of Biſhops ſubmitted it ſelſe to the Emperour.

L II. But I would aſke him wherin? To take any Oath that the Emperour *Charles* ſhould propoſe vnto them? Wee ſee no Oath offered, nor mentioned, and ſo nothing heere to our purpoſe. Wherin then, or why are they ſaid to haue ſubmitted themſelues? For that, perhaps, it is ſaid in the Preface of the Councell, that they were gathered together by order, and commandement of the ſaid Emperour. Surely it was hard, that ſo many Biſhops, & Archbiſhops ſhould be aſſembled together without his liking, and Order. But that the conſent,
direction

direction, and chiefe Commission for the same, came from the Bishop of Rome, may easily be gathered: for that in the first Councell that he caused to be celebrated in his Dominions, which was that of *VVormes* in the yeare of Christ 770. it was left registred in these wordes: *Auctoritas Ecclesiastica, atque Canonica docet, non debere, absque sententia Romani Pontificis, Concilia celebrari.* Ecclesiasticall and Canonick Authority teacheth, that Councils may not be held, without the allowance of the Bishop of Rome.

LIII. And wherein the? Or why is this submission made? For approbation of matters concerning faith? No, for that yow haue heard before out of *S. Ambrose*, that therein Emperours are not iudges of Bishops, but Bishops of Emperours. Wherin then, or why is this submission, or rather remission to the Emperour, and his iudgmēt? It was, for that this Councell was made onely for reformation of manners and matters, at the religious instāce of the good Emperour, the effectuating wherof did depend principally of his good will and assistance, and so after the first Canon, where briefly is set downe the Confession of the Christian faith, all the other 25. Canons (for there are only 26. in all) are about reformation of matters amisse: as for more diligence in daylie prayer for the Emperours person, and his children, to wit, that ^a *Masses and Litanies be said daylie for them, by all Bishops, Abbots, Monks, and Priests.* ^b That Bishops and Priests study more diligently, and teach the people, both by lessons and preachings: ^c That lay men may not put out Priests of their benefices, without the sentence of the Bishop, nor that they take money of them for collation of the said benefices: ^d That none be admitted to enter into the Monasteries of Virgins, eyther to say Masse, or otherwise, but such as be of approved vertue: ^e How peace is to be held betweene Bishops, Earles, and other Great men, especially in execution of Iustice: ^f That

Vide in Capitularibus Franc. li. 6. c. 285. de Concilio VVormac.

Wherein the Councell of Arles did submit it selfe to the Emperour.

a Can. 2.

b Can. 3.

c Can. 4.

d Can. 7. & 8.

e Can. 13.

f Can. 15. & 16.

g Can. 20.
22.23.

The zeale
of Charles
the Great
to haue
manners
reformed
by the au-
thority of
Bishops.

weightes and measures be iust and equall, and that none worke vpon holy dayes : & That all Tythes be payd, all ancient possessions mantayned to the Churches : That no secular courtes be held in Churches, or Church porches : That no Earles, or other Great men do fraudulently buy poore mens goodes, &c.

L I V. These then were the pointes of Reformation, decreed in that Councell of *Arles*, at the instance of *Charles the Great*, who was so zealous a Prince in this behalfe, as he caused siue seuerall Councells to be celebrated in diuers Partes of his Dominions, within one yeare, to wit, this of *Arles*, an other at *Towers*, a third at *Chalons*, a fourth at *Mentz*, the fifth at *Rhemes*, and another the yeare before (which was the sixth) *Ad Theodonis Villam*, which is a towne in *Luxemburge*. All which Prouinciall Synodes are extant in the third Tome of Councells, together, with the Canons and Decrees, which are such as could not be put in execution, but by the temporall fauour, authoritie, and approbation of the Emperour in such matters, as concerned his temporall Kingdome and iurisdiction. Wherefore if for these respects, the Councell did present vnto the Emperour these Canons to be considered of by his wisdom, whether any thing were to be added, altered, or taken away, for the publicke good of the Common Wealth (no Controuersy of faith being treated therein) what is this to proue, eyther, that the Emperour in spirituall matters was superiour to the said Bishops, or that if he had proposed vnto them any such Oath, as this is, wherein by professing their temporall Allegiance, they must also haue impugned some poynt of their faith, that they would haue obeyed him? And so much of this Councell.

L V. And for that, all the other Authorities of other Councels heere cyted, do tend only to this end of prouing Temporall Obedience, which we deny not, but do,

do offer the same most willingly: we shall not stand to answer or examine any more of them, but shall end this Paragraph, with laying downe the insul-tation of this Apologer against the Pope, vpon his owne voluntary mistaking the Question. I read (*sayth he*) in the Scriptures, that Christs said, *His Kingdome was not of this world*, bidding vs to giue to Cesar that which was Cesars, and to God that which was Gods: and I euer held it for an infallible Maxime in Deuinity, That temporall Obedience to a temporall Magistrate, did no-thing repugne to matters of faith or saluation of soules. But that euer Temporall Obedience was against faith and saluation of soules, as in this Breue is alledged, was neuer before heard or read of in the Christian Church; and therefore, I would haue wished the Pope, before he had set downe this Commandement to all Papists heere, That since in him is the Power, by the in-fallibility of his spirit, to make new Articles of faith, when euer it shall please him; That he had first set it downe for an Article of faith, before he had commanded all Catholicks to belieue, and obey it. So he.

Ioan. 18. 36.
Mat. 22. 21.
Apol. pag.
26. & 27.

Neither
the Pope
or Church
can make
any new
Articles of
Faith.

LVI. And I maruaile, that a man professing learning, would euer so tryfle, or rather wrangle, and wrongfully charge his Aduersary: for that I fynde no such thing in the *Breue* at all, as that Temporall Obedience is against faith and saluation of soules: nor doth the *Breue* forbid it: nor doth any learned Catholicke affirme, that the Pope hath power to make new Articles of Faith: nay rather it is the full consent of all Catholicke Deuines, that the Pope, and all the Church together, cannot make any one new Article of beliefe, that was not truth before, though they may explaine what points are to be held for matters of faith, & what not, vpon any new heresies or doubts arising: Which articles so declared, though they be more particularly,

3. Reg. 3.

and perspicuously knowne now for points of faith, and so to be believed, after the declaration of the Church then before: yet had they before the self same truth in themselves, that now they haue. Nor hath the said Church added any thing to them, but this declaration only. As for example, when *Salomon* declared the true Mother of the child that was in doubt, he made her not the true mother thereby, nor added any thing to the truth of her being the mother: but only the declaration. Wherefore this also of ascribing power to the Pope of making new Articles of faith, is a meere calumniation amongst the rest.

„ L VII. There followeth his conclusion: I will then
 „ conclude (saith he) my answer to this point in a Di-
 „ lemma: Eyther it is lawfull to obey the Soueraigne in
 „ temporall things or not. If it be lawfull, as I neuer
 „ heard or read it doubted of: then why is the Pope so vn-
 „ iust and cruell towards his owne Catholicks, as to com-
 „ maund them to disobey their Soueraignes lawfull com-
 „ mandement? If it be vnlawfull, why hath he not ex-
 „ pressed any one cause or reason therof? But this *Dilemma*
 „ is easily dissolued, or rather falleth of it self, both his
 „ pillars being but broken reeds, framed out of false sup-
 „ positions: For that the Pope neyther denyeth it, to be
 „ lawfull, to obey the Soueraigne in Cyuill and Tem-
 „ porall things: nor doth he command Catholicks to dis-
 „ obey their Prince his lawfull commadements: but only
 „ where they be vnlawful to be performed, as he suppo-
 „ seth them to be in the taking of this *Oath*. Wherof he ex-
 „ presseth sundry causes, and reasons, I meane, so many
 „ as the *Oath* it self cōteyneth points cōcerning Religion:
 „ to which end, he setteth downe the whole *Oath*, as it
 „ lyeth, with intimation, that those points cannot be
 „ sworne with integrity of Catholicke Religion, & good
 „ conscience: which is sufficient for a Iudge, who dis-
 „ puteth not, but determineth. So as, hereupon to make
 „ illa-

Wilfull
mistaking
of the con-
trouersy.

illation of the Popes vniust, and cruell dealing towards Catholicks, by this his decision, as though he forbad Ciuill Obedience; is to buyld vpon a voluntary false ground, supposing, or rather imposing the Pope to say, that which he doth not, and then to refute him, as though he had said it indeed. And is this good dealing?

L V I I I. But yet he goeth forward vpon the same false ground to buyld more accusations against the Pope, saying: That is the foundation of his exhorting Catholicks to beare patiently their tribulations, be false (*as this Apologer auoucheth it to be*) then it can worke no other effect, then to make him guylty of the blood of so many of his sheep, whome he doth thus willtully cast away, not only to the needles losse of their liues, and ruine of their families: but euen to the laying on of a perpetuall slander vpon all Papists. As if no zealous Papist could be a true Subiect to his Prince: and that Religion, and the Temporall Obedience to the Cynill Magistrate, were two things incompatible and repugnant in themselves. *Thus he.*

L I X. But who doth not see that these be all iniurious inierences, inforced vpon the former false suppositions, to witt, That Catholicks suffer nothing for their Conscience, That there is no persecution at all in England, That there is nothing exacted by this last oath, but *only* and *meerly* Cyuill Obedience, and that in this, the Pope exhorteth them to disobey the Temporall Prince in Temporall duties, and thereby giueth iust occasion to the Prince to vse his sword against them, and consequently that he is cause of the effusion of their blood, and of the infamy of Catholicke Religion: as though no Catholicke by his Religion could be a true Subiect to his Temporall Prince. All which suppositions being vtterly mistaken, and not true, the more often they are repeated, the more exorbitant seemeth the

See S. Cy-
prian Ex-
hort. ad
Martyr.

the oversight of the wryter. And in my opinion, the very same might haue bene obiected vnto S. Cyprian and other Fathers of the Primitiue Church, that they were guyilty of so many Martyrs bloud, willfully cast away, and of the ruine of their families, and other inconueniences, by exhorting them not to doe against their Consciences, nor to yield to their Temporall Princes Commandements against God and their Religion: no not for any torments that might be layd vpon them, nor for any losses that might fall vnto them, of goods, life, honour, fame, friendes, wife, children, or the like, which were ordinary exhortations in those daies of persecution, as by their Bookes yet extant doth appeare.

L X. Neyther is it sufficient to say, that those tymes and ours are different, for that the things then demaunded were apparantly vnlawfull, but these not: for that, to vs that are Catholicks, these things are as vnlawfull now, as those other were then to them, for that they are no lesse against our Consciences in matters of Religion. For why should it be more damnable then, and indispensable to deliuer vp a Byble, or new Testament, for examples sake, when the Emperour commaunded it, then now to sweare an Oath against our Conscience and Religion, when our Temporall Prince exacteth it? For that this, perhaps, is called the Oath of Allegiance? Who knoweth not, that the fayrest tytle is put vpon the fowlest matter, when it is to be perswaded or exacted? And he that shall read the Historyes of that tyme, and of those auncient afflictions, shall see that Act also to haue bene required, as of Obedience and Allegiance, and not of Religion, being only the deliury vp of materiall bookes: and yet did the whole Church of God condemne them for it, that deliuered the same, and held

See Euseb.
lib. 8. ca. 4.
& Aug. de
Bap. lib. 7.
cap. 2. &

held for true Martyrs, all those that dyed for denying thereof, for that they would not doe an Act against their Consciences.

L X I. Well then, to draw to an end of this second paragraph about the two Breues of *Paulus Quintus*, two things more writeth this Apologer, whereunto I muſt in like manner ſay ſomewhat. The firſt is, That Pope *Clemens Octauus* ſent into *England*, two Breues immediatly before the late *Queenes* death, for debarring of his Maieſtie, our now Soueraigne, of the Crowne, or any other, that eyther would proceſſe, or any way tolerate the profeſſours of our Religion, contrary (ſaith he) to his manifold vowes, and proteſtations, *ſimul & eodem tempore*, and, as it were, deliuered, *vno & eodem Spiritu*, to diuers of his Maieſties Miniſters abroad, profeſſing all kyndenes, and ſhewing all forwardnes to aduance him to this Crowne, &c. Wherein ſtill I fynde the ſame veyne of exaggeration, and calumniation continued by the Apologer. For hauing procured ſome knowledge of thoſe two Breues, I fynde them not ſent into *England* togeather, nor immediatly before the late *Queenes* death, but the one diuers yeares before ſhee dyed, and the other after her death, and this to different effects. For in the firſt, the Pope being conſulted, what Catholicks were bound to doe in conſcience, for admitting a new Prince after the *Queene* ſhould be dead, for ſo much as ſome of different Religions, were, or might be, pretenders; he determined that a Catholicke was to be preferred, not thinking (as may be preſumed) to prejudice therein his Maieſty that now is, of whome, vpon the relations, and earneſt aſſerations of thoſe his Maieſties Miniſters abroad, who heere are mentioned, he had conceaued firme hope, that his Highnes was not farre from being a

lib.7. cōtra
Crefc. cap.
27. & Ar-
nob. cōtra
Gentes lib.
4. in fine.

Touching
the two
Breues of
Clemens
octauus.
Anno Do-
mini 1600.
& 1603.

Catholicke, or at least wise not altogether so alienate from that Religion, or professors thereof, as reasonable hope might not be conceived of his conversion: though in regard of not prejudicing his Title in *England*, the said Ministers avouched, that it was not thought expedient at that tyme to make declaration thereof.

LXII. This was auerred then, how truly or falsely I know not. But many letters and testifications are extant hereof, which were the cause of those demonstrations of *Clemens Octavius*, to favour his Majesty's Title, which he did so hartily and effectually, as when he, after the *Queenes* death, understood that he was called for into *England*, he wrote presently the second Breue, exhorting all Catholicks to receive and obey him willingly, hoping that at leastwise they should be permitted to live peaceably vnder him. And this is the very truth of those two Breues: nor was there in the former any one word against his Majesty then of *Scotland*; and much lesse that he was therein called the *Scottish Hereticke*, as *Syr Edward Cooke* hath devised since, and falsely vttered in print without shame or conscience. Nor was there any such wordes, as heere are alleadged, against any that would but tolerate the Professours of *Protestants Religion*: nor was there any such double dealing or dissimulation in *Pope Clement* his speeches, or doings, concerning his Majesty as heere are set downe. But the truth is, that he loved his person most hartily, and alwaies spake honourably of him, treated kindly all those of his nation, that said they came from him, or any wayes belonged vnto him: and oftentimes vsed more liberality that way, vpon diuers occasions, then is conuenient, perhaps, for me to vtter heere: caused speciall prayer to be made for his Majesty,

In his
Charge at
Norwich
4. August.
anno 1606.

Maiesty, wherof, I suppose, his Highnes cannot altogether be ignorant, and much lesse can so noble a nature be ingrate for the same, which assur-eth me, that those things vttered by this Apologer, so farre from the truth, could not be conferred with his Maiesty, but vttered by the Authour thereof, vpon his owne splene, against the Pope, and such as are of his Religion.

LXIII. The second and last point affirmed by the Apologer in this Paragraph, is, that the first of these two Breues of *Paulus Quintus* was iudged to be farre against *Deuinity*, *Policy*, and *naturall sense*, by sundry *Catholicks*, not of the simpler sort, but of the best account both for learning and experience among them, wherof the Archpriest was one, and consequently, that it was held but for a countersaite libell, deuised in hatred of the Pope. &c. All this (I say) hath much calumniation in it, and litle truth. For albeit some might doubt, perhaps, whether it came immediatly from the Pope, *Ex motu proprio*, or only from the Congregation of the Inquisition, vpon defectuous information of the State of the question in *England* (of which doubt, notwithstanding, if any were, there could be litle ground:) yet no *Catholicke* of iudgement or piety, would euer passe so farre, as to iudge it contrary to *Deuinity*, *Policy*, or *naturall sense*, and much lesse, to be a libell deuised in hatred of the Pope. These are but deuises of the Minister-Apologer: and he offereth much iniury to so Reuerend a man as the Archpriest is, to name him in so odious a matter, but that his end therein is well knowne. And if there were any such doubt, or might be before, of the lawfulness of the first Breue, now is the matter cleered by the second; and so all men see thereby, what is the sentence of the Sea Apostolicke therein, which is sufficient for *Catholicke* men, that haue learned

To the last
poynt.

to obey , and to submitt their iudgements to
those , whome God hath appointed for the declara-
tion , and decision of such doubts . And thus much
about those two Breues . Now let vs see
what is said to *Cardinall Bellarmyne* ,
for writing to *M. Blackwell*
in this affaire.

A B O V T





ABOUT
CARDINALL
BELLARMINES LETTER

TO M.^r BLACKVELL:

*And answer given thereunto,
by the Apologer.*

Paragr. III.



THE last Part of this Apology concerneth a letter written by Cardinall Bellarmine in Rome, vnto George Blackwell Arch-priest in England: which letter, as appeareth by the argument thereof, was written out of this occasion: That whereas vpon the coming forth of the forenamed new Oath, intituled, Of Allegiance, there were found diuers poynts combined together, some appertayning manifestly to Ciuill Allegiance, wherat no man made scruple, some other seeming to include other matters, contrary to some part of the Catholicke faith, at least in the common sense as they ly; there arose a doubt whether the said Oath might be taken simply and wholly, by a Catholicke man, as it is there proposed

*Apolog.
pag. 36. 37.
&c.*

The State
of the con-
trouersie
with Card.
Bellarmine

without any further distinction, or explication thereof. Whereupon some learned men at home being different in opinions, the case was consulted abroad, where all agreed (as before hath byn shewed) that it could not be taken wholly with safety of conscience, and so also the Pope declared the case by two seuerall Breues.

I I. In the meane space it happened, that *M. Blackwell* being taken, was committed to prison, and soone after, as he had byn of opinion before, that the said *Oath* might be taken as it lay in a certayne sense; so it being offered vnto him, he tooke it himselfe. Which thing being noysed abroad, and the fact generally disliked by all sortes of Catholicke people in other Realmes, as offensive, and scandalous in regard of his place, and person, so much respected by them: *Cardinall Bellarmine*, as hauing had some old acquaintance with him in former yeares, as it may seeme, resolved out of his particuler loue, & zeale to the Common cause of Religion, and speciall affection to his person, to write a letter vnto him, therby to let him know what reportes, and iudgment there was made of his fact, throughout those partes of Christendome where he remained, together with his owne opinion also, which consisted in two poynts, the one that the *Oath*, as it stood, compounded of different clauses, some lawfull, & some vnlawfull, could not be taken with safety of Conscience: the other, that he being in the dignity he was of Prelacy, and Pastorall Charge, ought to stand firme and constant for example of others, & rather to suffer any kynd of danger or damage, then to yield to any vnlawfull thing, such as the Cardinall held this *Oath* to be.

Ca. Bellar.
his opinion
of taking
the Oath.

III. This Letter was written vpon the 28. day of September 1607. and it was subscribed thus in Latyn;

Admodum R.^{dx} Dom.^{is} V.^x

Frater & seruus in Christo.

Robertus Card. Bellarminus.

Which

Which our Apologer translateth, *Your very Reuerēd Brother*: whereas the word *very Reuerend* in the letter, is gyuen to the Arch-priest, and not to *Card. Bellarmine*, which the interpreter knew well inough, but that wanting other matter, would take occasion of cauilling by a wilfull mistaking of his owne, as often he doth throughout this Answer to *Bellarmino*, as in part will appeare by the few notes which heere I am to set downe, leauing the more full Answer to the *Cardinall* himselfe, or some other by his appoyntment, which I doubt not, but will yield very ample satisfaction in that behalfe. For that, in truth, I fynd, that great aduantage is gyuen vnto him, for the defence of his said Epistle, and that the exceptions taken thereagainst it, be very weake and light, and as easy to be dissolued by him, and his penne, as a thin mist by the beames of the sunne.

IIII. As for example, the first exception is (which no doubt were great, if it were true in such a man as *Cardinall Bellarmine* is) that he hath mistaken the whole State of the *Questiō*, in his writing to *M. Blackwell*, going about to impugne only the old Oath of *Supremacy*, in steed of this new Oath, entituled, *Of Allegiance*: but this is most cleerly refuted by the very first lynes almost of the letter it self. For that telling *M. Blackwell*, how sory he was vpon the report, that he had taken *illicitum Iuramentum*, an vnlawfull Oath, he expoundeth presently, what Oath he meaneth, saying: *Not therefore (deare Brother) is that Oath lawfull, for that it is offered somewhat tempered & modified, &c.* Which is euidently meant of the new Oath of *Allegiance*, not only tempered with diuers lawfull clauses of Ciuill Obedience, as hath byn shewed, but interlaced also with other members, that reach to Religion: whereas the old Oath of *Supremacie*, hath no such mixture, but is playnly, and simply set downe, for absolute excluding the *Popes Supremacie* in causes Ecclesiasticall, and for making the King supreme Head of the Church in the same causes:

Pag. 44.

A Cauill.

Pag. 46.

Whether
Bellar. mi-
staketh the
state of the
Question.

The tytle
of Supre-
macy.

Stat. 26.
Henr 8.c.1.

Causes: all which is most euident by the Statutes made about the same, from the 25 yeare of King Henry the 8. vnto the end of the raigne of King Edward the sixt.

V. Only I do heere note by the way, that the Apologger in setting downe the forme of the Oath of Supremacie saith: I A. B. do vtterly testifie, and declare in my Conscience, that the Kings Highnes is the only Supreme Gouvernour, as well in all causes spirituall as temporall, whereas in the Statute of 26. of K. Henry the 8. where the tytle of Supremacy is enacted, the wordes are these: Be it enacted by this present Parliament, that the King our Soueraigne, his heirs and successors, shalbe taken, accepted, and reputed the only Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England, called Ecclesia Anglicana, and shall haue, & inioy, annexed, and vnted to the Imperiall Crowne of this Realme, as well the tytle and style therof, as all honours, dignities, authorities, annuities, profits, and commodities to the said Dignity of Supreme Head of the said Church, belonging &c.

Stat. 28. H.
8.cap.10.

VI. And further, whereas two yeares after, an Oath was deuised for confirmation heerof in Parliament, the wordes of the Oath are sett downe: That he shall sweare to renounce vtterly, and relinquish the Bishop of Rome, and his Authority, power, and iurisdiction &c. And that from hence forth, he shall accept, repute, and take the Kings M.^{tie} to be the only Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England &c. And that the refusers of this Oath, shall be reputed traytors and suffer the paynes of death &c. And in other Statutes it is decreed, that it shall be treason to deny this title of headship to the King. And by like Decree of Parliament, it is declared vnder King Edward, what this Authority of headshipp is, when they say: For so much as all Authority of Iurisdiction spirituall, and temporall is deryued, & deduced from the Kings M.^{tie} as Supreme Head of these Churches, & Realmes of England and Ireland &c.

Stat. 1. Edo.
6.cap.2.

VII. This was wont to be the doctrine of Supremacy in the tymes of King Henry, and King Edward, and it was death to deny this tytle, or not to sweare the same: now
our

our Apologers thinketh it not good to giue it any longer to his Ma.^{tie} that now is, but calleth him only *Supreme Gouvernour*, which is a new deuise taken from *John Reynolds*, & other his fellowes, who aboue twenty yeares gone, being pressed by his Aduersary *M. Hart*, about calling *Q. Elizabeth*, *Head of the Church*, he denyeth flatly, that they called her so, but only *Supreme Gouvernesse*, which I had thought they had done in regard of her sex, that is not permitted to speake in the Church. But now I perceauē they haue passed the same also ouer to his M.^{tie} not permitting him to inherite the tytles, eyther of *King Edward*, or *King Henry*; which misliketh not vs at all, for that so farre they may passe heerin, as we may come to agree. For if they will vnderstand by *supreme Gouvernour*, the temporall Princes *Supreme Authority* ouer all persons of his dominions, both Ecclesiasticall, and Temporall, in temporall matters, excepting only Spirituall (wherin as yow haue heard a litle before *S. Ambrose* told the Christian Emperours of his tyme, that being Lay-men, they could not rightly meddle:) I see no great difficulty, which in this assayre would remayne betweene vs.

Conferēce
in the To-
wer. cap. 1.
diuif. 1. pa.
90.

VIII. To returne then to the Charge of ouersight, and grosse mistaking (to vse the Apologers words) layd by him to *Cardinal Bellarmine*, for impugning the ancients Oath of *Supremacy*, instead of this later called, *Of Allegiance*, & *Of giuing the child a wrong name* (as he saith,) I see not by what least colour, or shew of reason, it may stād against him. For besydes that which we haue said before, of the *reperament*, & *modification* mentioned by him to be craftily couched in this later Oath, which by his letter he refuteth (I meane of *lawfull*, and *vnlawfull clauses*) which must needes be vnderstood of the second Oath; he adioyneth presently the cōfutation of those modifications, saying: For yow know that those kind of modifications, are nothing els, but sleightes & subtilities of *Sathā*, that the Catholicke saith, touching the

Apolog.
pag. 37.

Iac. 3.

The Oath
deuided
into 14.
partes.Apolog.
pag. 49.

Primacy of the Sea Apostolicke, might *eyther secretly*, or *openly be shott at*. Lo heere he mentioneth both the *Oathes*, the one which shooteth *secretly* at the *Primacy of the Sea Apostolicke* (which is the later *Of Allegiance*) & the other that impugneth it *openly*, which is the first of the *Supremacy*. And as he nameth the second in the first place, so doth he principally prosecute the same, & proueth the vnlawfulness therof, mentioning the other but only as by the way, for that it is as *Totū ad Partē* to the former, as a man can hardly speake of particuler members of a body, without naming also the said body (as whē *S. James* inuegheth against the tongue, he saith, *That it inflameth the whole body*;) so *Card. all Bellarmine* could hardly reprove the particuler branches of the Oath *Of Allegiance*, tending against sundry parts of the Popes *Primacie*, without mentioning the generall Oath of *Supremacy*, though it were not his purpose chiefly to impugne that, but the other. Which later Oath, albeit the Apologer sticketh not to say, that it toucheth not any part of the Popes Spirituall *Supremacy*: yet in the very next period, he contradicteth & ouerthroweth himselfe therein: For so much, as dcuiding the said Oath of *Allegiance* into 14. seuerall partes or paiuels, twelue of them, at least, do touch the said *Supremacy* one way or other, as by examination yow will fynd, and we shall haue occasion after to declare more at large.

IX. As for example, he writeth thus: And that the Iniustice (saith he) as well as the error of *Bellarmino* his grosse mistaking in this poynt, may yet be more cleerly discovered; I haue thought good to insert heere immediately the contrary conclusions to all the poynts and Articles, wherof this other late Oath doth consist, whereby it may appeare, what vnreasonable and rebellious poynts he would dryue his Ma.ties Subiects vnto, by refusing the whole body of that Oath, as it is conceaued. For he that shall refuse to take this Oath, must of necessity hold these propositions following: First that our Soue-

raigne

raigne Lord King Iames is not the lawfull King of this Kingdome, and of all other his Ma.^{ties} Dominions. Secondly that the Pope by his owne authority may depose, &c. But who doth not see what a simple fallacy this is, which the Logicians do call *A composio ad diuisa*, from denying of a compound, to inferre the denyall of all the parcels therein conteyned. As if some would say, that *Plato* was a man borne in *Greece*, of an excellent wit, skilfull in the Greeke language, most excellent of all other Philosophers, and would require this to be confirmed by an *Oath*, some *Platonist*, perhaps, would be cōtēt to sweare it; but if some *Stoicke*, or *Peripateticke*, or Professour of some other Sect in Philosophy, should refuse the said *Oath*, in respect of the last clause, might a man inferre against him in all the other clauses also, *Ergo* he denyeth *Plato* to be a Man? He denyeth him to be borne in *Greece*, he denyeth him to be of an excellent wit, he denyeth him to be skilfull in the Greeke tongue, &c. Were not this a bad kynd of arguing?

X. So in likemanner, if an *Arrian*, or *Pelagian* Prince, should exact an *Oath* at his Subiects hands, concerning diuers articles of Religion, that were belieued by them both, and in the end, or middle thereof, should insert some clauses, sounding to the fauour of their owne sect, for which the Subiect should refuse the whole body of that *Oath*, as it was conceyued; cou'd the other in iustice accuse him, for denying all the seuerall articles of his owne Religion also, which therein are mencyoned? Who seeth not the iniustice of this manner of dealing? And yet this is that which our Apologer vseth heere with Catholicks, affirming in good earnest, that he which refuseth the whole body of this *Oath*, as it is conceyued (in respect of some clauses thereof that stand against his Conscience, about matters of Religion) refuseth consequently euery poynt and parcell thereof, and must of necessity hold (in the first place) that our Soueraigne Lord King *Iames* is not the lawfull King of this

Bad kinde
of arguing.

Kingdome, and of all other his Ma.^{ties} Dominions. The contrary wherof all Catholicks do both confesse, and professe : & consequently it is a meere calumniation that they deny this. But let vs see, how he goeth forward, in prouing this whole *Oath* to be lawfull to a Catholicke mans Conscience.

Apol. pag.
52.

The Oath
of Allegi-
ance con-
firmed by
the autho-
ritie of
Councils.

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The differ-
ence be-
tweene the
ancient
Councils,
and the
Popes
Counsel-
ling of the
Catholiks.

XI. And that the world (saith he) may yet further see, his Ma.^{ties} and whole States setting downe of this *Oath*, did not proceed from any new inuention of theirs, but as it is warranted by the word of God : So doth it take the example from an *Oath of Allegiance*, decreed a thousand yeares agoe, which a famous Councell then, together with diuers other Councils, were so farre from condemning (as the Pope now hath done this *Oath*) as I haue thought good to set downe their owne wordes heere in that purpose ; wherby it may appeare, that his Ma.^{tie} craueth nothing now of his Subjects in this *Oath*, which was not expressely, and carefully commanded them by the Councils to be obeyed, without exception of persons. Nay not in the very particuler poynt of *Equiuocation*, which his Ma.^{tie} in this *Oath* is so carefull to haue eschewed : but yow shall heere see the said Councils in their Decrees, as carefull to provide for the eschewing of the same ; so as, almost euery poynt of that Action, and this of ours, shall be found to haue relation, and agreeance one with the other, saue only in this ; that those old Councils were carefull, and strait in commanding the taking of the same ; whereas by the contrary, he, that now vaunteth himselfe to be Head of all Councils, is as carefull and strait in the prohibition of all men, from the taking of this *Oath of Allegiance*. So he.

XII. And I haue alledged his discourse at large, to the end yow may better see his fraudulent manner of proceeding. He saith, That the example of this *Oath* is taken from an *Oath of Allegiance* decreed a thousand yeares

yeares agoe in the Councils of *Toledo*, but especially the fourth, which provided also for the particular poynt of *Equiuocation*: But let any man read those Councils, which are 13. in number, and if he fynd eyther any forme of an Oath prescribed, or any mention of *Equiuocation*, but only of flat lying and perfidious dealing; let him discredit all the rest that I do write. And if he fynd none at all, as most certainly he shall not; then let him consider of the bad cause of this Apologer, that dryueth him to such manner of dealing, as to auouch, *Euerypoint of that Action to haue agreeance with the offering of this Oath.*

Conc. Tole.
4. can. 74.

XIII. True it is that those Councils of *Toledo*, vpon certayne occasions, which presently we shall declare, do recommend much to the subiects of *Spayne*, both *Gothes* and *Spaniards*; that they do obserue their Oath of fidelity made vnto their Kings, especially vnto *Sisenandus*, for whose cause principally this matter was first treated in the fourth Council of *Toledo*, but no speciall forme is prescribed by the said Councell: nor is *Equiuocation* so much as named therein, but only (as hath bene said) *Iurare mendaciter*, to sweare falsely, as the wordes of the Council are. Which how far it is from the true nature of *Equiuocation* hath bene lately and largely demonstrated as yow know.

The occasion of gathering the 4. Council of *Toledo*.

XIV. The cause of the treatie of this matter in the 4. Councell of *Toledo*, was, for that one *Sisenandus* a Nobleman of the bloud of the *Gothes* and a great Captaine, taking opportunitie of the euill life of his King *Suinila*, whome he had serued, did by some violence (as most of the * *Spanish Historiographers* write, though confirmed afterward by the Common-wealth, and proued a very good King) and, as *Paulus Aemilius* in his French Historie recordeth, by helpe of *Dagobert* King of *France*, put out the said *Suinila*: and fearing lest the same people that had made defection to him, might

* See *Rod. Tolet. lib. 2. dereb. Hist. c. 19. Sātius par. 2. hist. Hist. c. 27. Ioan. Vascus in Chron. Hist. num. 631.*

Conc. Tole.
4. in Pra-
fat.

Anno Do-
mini 633.

by the same meanes fall from him againe, he procured in the third yeare of his raigne, this fourth Councell of Toledo, to be celebrated of 70. Prelates, as some say, and as others, of 68. hoping by their meanes, that his safety in the Crowne should be confirmed. Whereupon it is set downe, in the Preface of the said Councell, that comming into the same, accompanied with many noble and honorable persons of his trayne; *Coram sacerdotibus Dei humi prostratus, cum lachrymis, & gemitibus pro se interveniendum postulavit*: He prostrate on the ground before the Priests or God, with teares and sobbes, besought them to make intercession vnto God for him. And after that, religiously exhorted the Synod to be myndfull of the Fathers Decrees, for confirmation of Ecclesiasticall rites &c. Whereupon after seauenty and three Decrees made, about Ecclesiasticall matters, which whosoever will read, shall fynd them wholly against the Protestants, as setting downe, & describing the whole vse of the Catholicke Church then in Spayne (which concurred with our first Primitiue Church of England conforme to that which now also is scene there) they in the last Canon, which was the 74. turned themselues to treat in like manner of matters of the Common wealth, appoynting the order how their Kings for the tyme to come, should be established: *Defuncto in pace Principe, Primate Gen:is cum Sacerdotibus, successorem Regni, consilio communi, constituant*. The Prince being dead in peace, let the Nobility of the Nation, together with the Priests, by common counsell, appoynt a successeur in the kingdome &c.

The care
of the
Councell
for Ciuill
Fidelity to
be obser-
ued to the
King.

XV. And then next to this, they do excommunicate all those, that shall attempt the destruction of the present King, or shall breake their Oath of Fidelity made vnto him: *Aut si quis presumptione Tyrannica Regni fastidium usurpauerit*: or if any shall, by Tyrannical presumption, vsurpe the dignity of the Crowne, *aut Sacramentum fidei sua, quod pro Patria, Gentisque Gothorum statu, vel conseruatione*

Regia

Regia salutis pollicitus est, violauerit, aut Regem neci attrectauerit: If any man shall violate the Oath of his fidelitie, which he hath promised for the state, or conseruation of his Countrey, and Gothish Nation, and of the Kings safety, or shall attempt the Kings death &c. *Let him be accursed* (say they) *in the sight of God the Father, and of his Angels, and cast out from the Catholicke Church, which by his periury he hath profaned; and let him be separated from all Society of Christians, together with all his associates in such attempes.* And this curse they do renew and repeat diuers tymes in that Canon; *Vt hac tremenda, & toties iterata sententia, nullum ex nobis praesenti atque aeterno condemnet iudicio;* that this dreadfull and often iterated sentence of excommunication, do not condemne any of vs with iudgement present, and euerlasting also, if we incurre the same.

Can. 74.

XVI. This then was the great care which those ancient Fathers (wherof the holy and learned man *S. Isidorus*, Archbishop of *Siuill* was the first that subscribed) had of the dutifull obedience, & fidelity of subiects towards their Princes, vnto whome they had once sworne the same. But as for any particuler forme of Oath there prescribed, wherby this new Oath now required Of Allegiance may be framed, that hath so many clauses therin of scruple of conscience to the receauer, I fynd none at all. And no doubt, but if this King *Sisenandus* should haue exacted of any of these Bishops, or other his subiects, such an Oath of Allegiance, as should haue beene mixed with any clauses preiudiciall to any of those points of Ecclesiasticall affaires, which are handled and decreed by them, in the said 73. precedent Canons of this Councell, or others contrary to their Conscience or iudgment in Religion: they would haue beene so farre off from yielding therunto, as they would rather haue giuen their liues, then their consents to such an Oath.

No forme of Oath prescribed by the Councell.

XVII. But to go forward, and speake a word or two more of this Councell of *Toledo*. After those 70. Fathers

What the
Councell
demanded
at K. Sife-
nandus his
hands to-
wards his
people.

Fathers had taken this order for the temporall safetie of their Prince, and Gothish Nation (for that was a principall point that none should be admitted to the Crowne, but of that race) they turne their speach to the present King *Sisenandus*, and to his successours, making this exhortation vnto him. *Te quoque presentem Regem, ac futuros etatum sequentium Principes, humilitate, qua debemus, deposcimus, vt moderati & mites erga subiectos existentes &c.* We with due humility, do require at your hâds also that are our present King, and at the hands of those that shall ensue in future tymes, that yow be moderate and myld towards your subiects, and do rule your people committed vnto yow by God, in iustice and piety; and do yield to Christ, the giuer of all your power, good correspondence by raigning ouer them, in humility of harte, and indeauour of good workes &c. And we do promulgate here against all Kings to come this sentence; *Vt si quis ex cis, contra reuerentiam legum, superba dominatione, & fastu Regio in flagitijs crudelissimam potestatem in populis exercuerit, Anathematis sententia à Christo Domino condemnetur. &c.* That if any of them shall against the reuerence of the lawes, by proud domination, and Kingly haughtines, exercise wickednes, and cruell power vpon the people committed to their charge, let him be condemned of Christ, by the sentence of curse; and let him haue his separation, and iudgment from God himselfe.

The depo-
sition of K.
Suintila
confirmed
by the
Councell.

* Se Chro.
Vasæi nu.
631.

XVIII. After this, for better establishment of the said present King *Sisenandus*, they do confirme the deposition and expulsion, from the Crowne, of the foresaid King *Suintila*, (which by error of the print, is called in the Booke of Councells, *Semithilana*) pronouncing both him, his wife, and their brother, to be iustly expelled for their wickednes: though the foresaid *S. Isidorus*, then liuing, and writing the History of *Spainne*, dedicated to this King *Sisenandus*, doth speake much good of the * former parte of the other King his life and raigne.

And

And fynally some fyue yeares after this agayne in the sixt Councell of Toledo, being gathered togeather in the same Church of *S. Leocadia*, the said Bishops, togeather with the Nobility, did make this law, and prescribed this forme of Oath to all Kings of that nation, *Vt quisquis succedentium, temporum Regni sortitus fuerit apicem, non antea conscendat Regiam Sedem, quam inter reliquas conditiones, Sacramento politicus fuerit, hanc se Catholicam non permissurum eos violare fidem.* That whatsoeuer future King, shall obtayne the height of this Kingdome, he shall not be permitted to ascend to the Royall seate therof, vntill he haue sworne, among other conditions, that, he will neuer suffer his subiects to violate this Catholicke faith. Marke that he saith (*this*) which was the Catholicke faith then held in *Spayne*, and explicated in those Councils of *Toledo*; the particulers wherof do easely shew, that they were as opposite to the Protestant faith, as we are now.

Conc. Tol.
6. ca. 3:

An Oath
prescribed
by the
Councell
to Kings.

XIX. So as, all this is against the Apologer: for that in these Councils no particuler forme of any Oath was set downe, or exhibited at all to Subiects, that we can read of, but only in generall, it is commanded, That all do keepe their Oath of Allegiance sworne to their Princes, at their first entrance, or afterward. Which thing, no Pope did euer forbid, and all English Catholics at this day do offer willingly to performe the same to this Ma. tie; and consequently, all that ostentation made by the Minister before, *That this Oath is no new inuention: That it doth take the example from an Oath of Allegiance decreed a thousand yeares gone, by a famous Councell: That the Council provided in particuler for the poynts of Equiuocation: That almost euery poynt of that action hath agreeance with this of ours, saving only in this, that the Councell was carefull, & strait in commanding the taking of the same, and Pope Paulus carefull and strait in the prohibition &c.*

XX. All this, I say, falleth by it selfe to the ground: for so much, as neyther that Councell commanded the taking of any *Oath*, nor prescribed any forme to Subjects, nor Pope *Paulus* prohibiteth this, so farre as it concerneth Temporall, and Ciuill Obedience, as hath byn declared. And whatsoeuer the Apologer cyteth more out of these Councels, the meanest Reader, by looking vpon it, will easily espy, that it maketh nothing at all for him, or against vs, and consequently the entring into the narration of this matter, with so great ostentation, as, *That the world may see, that it proceeded not of any new inuention, but is warranted by the word of God, authorized by so auncient a Councell, and the like:* All this (I say) was needles; for so much, as nothing is found in this Councell that agreeth with our case, but only the naming and recommending of an Oath of fidelity, wherein we also fully agree and consent with our Aduersary.

The second Part of this Paragraph.

Contradi-
ctions ob-
iected to
the Car-
dinall.



Now then to come to the particuler Answer of our Apologer to the Card.^{lls} Letter, he doth for diuers leaues together, as it were, dally with him, picking quarrells here and there, vntill he come to the mayne charge of contradiction of himself, to himself, not only in this Letter, but throughout all his workes. And albeit I doubt not, but that the Card.^{ll} or some other by his appointment, will discusse all these matters largely and suffi-

sufficiently : yet for so much, as I haue promised to giue you my iudgment of all, I shall briefly in like māner lay forth what I haue obserued about these pointes.

XXII. Page 57. of his Apology he writeth thus : That some of such Priests, and Iesuits, as were the greatest traitors, and fomentors of the greatest conspiracies, against her late Maiesty, gaue vp F. Robert Bellarmyne, for one of their greatest authorities, and Oracles. And for prooffe he citeth in the margent *Campion* and *Hart* : See the Conference in the Tower. By which I discouer a greater abuse then I could haue imagined, would euer haue come from a man carefull of his credit : for I haue seene and perused the Conference of M.^r D. *John Reynolds* with M. *John Hart* in the Tower, vpon the yeare 1583. two yeares after the death of F. *Campion*, and there it appeareth indeed that the said M. *Hart* alleadgeth diuers tymes the opinions and proofes of F. Robert Bellarmyne, then publick Reader of Controuersies in Rome, but alwayes about matters of Deuinity and Controuersies, and neuer about Treasons or Conspiracies. And as for F. *Campion*, he is neuer read to mention him, cyther in the one or the other. Consider then the deceitfull equiuocation here vsed, that for so much, as M. *Hart* alleadged F. Robert Bellarmine sometyms in matters of Controuersie in that conference, therefore both he & F. *Campion* alleadged him for an Author and Oracle of Conspiracy against the Queene. And how can these things be defended with any shew or probability of truth ?

XXIII. Page 60. he frameth a great reprehension against the Card.^l for that in his letter he saith, that this Oath is not therfore lawfull, for that it is offered as tempered and modified. Whereupon the Apologer playeth, and insulteth, as though the Card.^l had reprehended the reperate speech therein vsed, adding, That in *Luther* and others of the Protestant writers, we mislike their bold & free speaking, as comming from the diuels instinct.

Card. Bel-
lar. wrōg-
fully char-
ged with
conspira-
cies.

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„

A voluntary mistake of temperate for tempered.

„ And now if we speake (saith he) moderately, and temperately, it must be tearmed the diuells craft, and therefore we may iustly complaine with Christ, That when we mourne, they will not lament, and when we pype they will not dance. And neyther *Iohn Baptist* his seuerity, nor Christ his meeknes can please them, who buyld but to their owne Monarchy, vpon the ground of their owne Traditions, and not to Christ, &c. Thus he, and much more exprobration to this effect, that we mislike the temperate style and speach vsed in this *Oath of Allegiance*. But all is quite mistaken, and the Apologer hath iust cause to blush at this error, if it were error and not wilfull mistaking. For that *Bellarmyne* doth not say, that this *Oath* is temperate in wordes, but tempered in matter, *aliquo modo temperatum & modificatum*: in a certayne sort *tempered* and *modified* by the offerers, in setting downe some clauses lawfull, touching Cyuill Obedience, and adioyning others vnlawfull, that concerne Conscience, and Religion. Which meaning of *Bellarmyne* is euident by the example, which he alleadgeth, of the Ensignes of the Emperour *Iulian*, out of *S. Gregory Nazianzen*, to wit; That the images of Pagan Gods were mingled, and combined together with the Emperours picture, & therby so *tempered*, and *modified*, as a man could not adore the one, without the other. Which being so; let the indifferent Reader consider what abuse is offered to Card.^{all} *Bellarmyne*, in charging him to mislike temperate speach in the forme of this *Oath*, which of likelyhood he neuer thought on, and yet theron to found so great an inference, as to accuse him to buyld therby to a *Monarchy*, and not to *Christ*. Is this a token of want of better matter, or no?

„ XXIV. Page 62. the Apologer hauing said with great vehemency of asseueration, That heauen and earth are no further asunder, then the profession of a
 „ Temporall Obedience, to a Temporall King, is different

rent from any thing belonging to the Catholicke faith, or Supremacy of *S. Peter* (which we graunt also, if it be meere Temporall Obedience without mixture of other clauses:) he proposeth presently two questions for application of this to his purpose. First this: *As for the Catholicke Religion* (saith he) *can there be one word found in all this Oath, tending to matter of Religion?* The second thus: *Doth he that taketh it, promise to believe, or not to believe any article of Religion?* Wherunto I answer first to the first, and then to the second. To the first, that if it be graunted, that power, and authority of the Pope, and Sea Apostolicke left by Christ, for governing his Church in all occasions & necessities, be any point belonging to Religion among Catholicks, thē is there not only some one word, but many sentences, yea ten or twelue articles, or branches therin, *tending* and *founding* that way as before hath bene shewed.

XXV. To the second question may make answer every clause in effect of the Oath it self. As for example the very first: *I A.B. doe truly, and sincerely acknowledge, professe, testify, & declare in my Conscience, that the Pope neither of himself, nor by any authority of the Sea or Church of Rome, hath any power & authority to &c. doth not this include eyther believe, or vnbelieve?* Again: *I doe further sweare, that I doe frō my hart abhorre, detest, & abiure, as impious, & hereticall, that damnable doctrine, & position, That Princes which be excommunicated, and deprived by the Pope, may be deposed &c.* Doth not heere the swearer promise, not to believe that doctrine which he so much detesteth? How thē doth the Apologer so grossly forget, and contradict himself, euen then, when he goeth about to proue contradictions in his Aduersary?

XXVI. It followeth consequently in the Oath: *And I doe believe, and in Conscience am resolved, That neyther the Pope, nor any person whatsoeuer, hath power to absolue me from this Oath, or any part therof.* These wordes are plaine as yow see. And what will the Apologer say heere? Is nothing

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Two questions proposed and solued.

1.

2.

Clauses of
believe or
not believe
in the
Oath.

Page. 12.

promised in those wordes to be believed, or not to be believed?

XXVII. But now we come to the contradictions of Cardinall *Bellarmyne*, wherof the Apologer taketh occasion to treat, for that the Cardinall affirmeth in one part of his letter, That neyther his Maiesty of *England*, nor any Prince else, hath cause to feare violence from the Pope; for that it was neuer heard of, from the Churches infancy, vntill this day, that any Pope did commaund, That any Prince, though an Hereticke, though an Ethnicke, though a Persecutour, should be murdered, or did allow the murther, when it was done by an other. Which assertion, the Apologer to improve, bringeth in examples first of doctrine, that *Bellarmyne* himself doth hold, That Princes vpon iust causes may be deposed by Popes: and then of facts, That diuers Emperours haue bene deposed, and great warres raised against them, by Popes, as *Bellarmyne* in his workes doth confesse, and cannot deny, and consequently doth contradict himself. But surely this seemeth to me a very simple opposition or contradiction. For who doth not see, that these things may well stand together, are not opposite, and may be both true; That Popes vpon iust causes, haue waged warres against diuers Princes, and Potentates; and yet neuer caused any to be vnlawfully made away, murdered, or allowed of their murthers committed by others. For, may not we say iustly, that warlike Princes are no murderers, though in the Acts of warres theselues, many haue bene slaine, by their authority and commandement? Or may not we deliuer our Judges of *England*, from the cryme of murther, though many mens deathes haue proceeded from them, by way of Iustice? No man (I thinke) will deny it.

XXVIII. And so if some Popes haue had iust warres with some Princes, Kinges or Emperours, or haue persuaded

Apolog.
38. & 64.

Bell. lib. s. de
Pon. c. 8. &
lib. 3. cap. 16.

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suaded themselves, that they were iust, in respect of some supposed disorders of the said Princes (as here is mentioned the warre, and other hostile proceedings of Pope Gregory the seauenth against the Emperour Henry the fourth) this is not contrary to the saying of Cardinall Bellarmyne, *That no Pope euer commaunded any Prince to be murdered, or allowed thereof, after it was done by an other.* For as for that which heere is affirmed by the Apologger, *That the Pope was intraged at the Emperour Henry the 5. for giuing buriall to his Fathers dead corps, after the Pope had stirred him vp against his Father, and procured his ruine,* neyther proueth the matter, nor is altogether true, as heere it is alleadged. Not the first: for this proueth not, that the Pope eyther commaunded or procured this death, which Bellarmyne denyed. Not the second: for that the two Authours by him cyted in his margent, to wit, *Platina* and *Cuspinian*, doe not auerre the same. For in *Platina* I finde no such thing at all; and *Cuspinian* his wordes are plaine to the contrary: That when Henry the Father was dead, and buried in a Monastery at *Liege*, his Sonne wou'd not make peace with the Bishop of that place, called * *Otbert*, except the dead body were pulled out of the graue againe, as it was, and so remayned for fve yeares.

XXIX. And againe *Cuspinian* writeth, That the report was, that *Gregory* the 7. did before his death absolve the Emperour; but that his Sonne *Henry* the 5. and his followers neuer left to sollicite the succeeding Popes vntill he was excommunicated againe, & thereupon had afterward this Christian buriall denyed him. And how then, is all this ascribed to the Pope, which proceeded from the Sonne against his Father? Our Apologger saith, That he was sett on by the Pope to rebell against him, but this his witnesses affirme not. For *Cuspinian* saith that it was, *Suasus Marchionis Theobaldi, Berengarii Comitis Noricorum, & Ottonis sibi ex materna stirpe cognati*

Touching
Henry the
4.

Pag. 65. 66.
Platin. &
Cusp. in *Vita*
Henrici
4.

Cusp. in
Henrico
quarto.

* See *Nau-*
cler. part. 2.
gen. 37. in
anno 1106.
& Crantz.
lib. 5. Saxo-
cap. 24.

Cuspin. in
Henrico 4.

a *Vrspergē-
fis* in anno
1106.

b *Crantz.*
in *Saxo. lib.*
5. cap. 17.

c *Sigon. de
regno Ita-
lie lib. 9. in
anno 1105.*

d *Naucle-
rus* part. 2.
gen. 37. in
anno 1105.
et alij.

Apolog.
pag. 66.

The exā-
ple of K.
Henry the
3. of France
his death.

cognati. And in this commonly agree all other Authors, as ^a *Vrspergensis*, who then liued, ^b *Crantzius*, ^c *Sigonius*, ^d *Naucleus*, and others. And why then is this so vniustly layed vpon the Pope? What Author can he bring for it, that auoucheth the same? Why is it couertly calt in, as though this matter apperteyned to *Gregory* the seauenth, who in his life had warres with *Henry* the fourth, but yet dyed before him? Heere then nothing is so apparent, as the desire to say much against Popes, with neuer so litle occasion, and lesse prooffe. But let vs go forward.

XXX. In the second place he produceth the approbation of the slaughter of the late King of France by Pope *Sixtus* in his speech in the Consistory: But no record of credit, eyther in *Rome* or elsewhere, can be found to testify, that any such speech euer was had by Pope *Sixtus*. And I vnderstand that diuers Cardinalls are yet liuing, who were then present in the first Consistory, after that newes arriued, who deny that *Sixtus* euer vttered any such words, as of the allowance of that horrible fact, though he might, and did highly admire the strange prouidence of God, in chastising by so vnexpected a way, so foule and impious a murther, as that King had committed vpon a Prince, Bishop, and Cardinall (and those neere of bloud vnto his Maiesty of *England*) without any forme of iudgment at all. And that a spectacle heerby of Gods Iustice was proposed vnto Princes, to be moderate in their power, and passions: for that in the midst of his great and Royall army, and corporall guardes, he was strangely slaine by a simple vnarmed man, when nothing was lesse expected, or feared. Nor can any thing be more improbable or ridiculous to be imagined, then that which is heere affirmed by our Apologer (and yet, he saith, he is sure therof) That this friar, which killed the King, should haue bene canonized for the fact, if some Cardinalls, out of their wisdom,

had

had not resisted the same. No such thing being euer so much as imagined, or consulted of, as many doe testify who were then in Rome. So as nothing is more common here, then bold assertions without wittnesses.

XXXI. And the like may be said to his third example of the late Queene of England, against whose life (he saith) that so many practises, and attempts were made, and directly inioyned to those traytors, by their Confessours, and plainly authorized by the Popes allowance. So he saith. But if a man would aske him, how he can proue, that those things were so directly inioyned, and plainly authorized, what answer will he make? Yow shall heare it in his owne wordes, for he hath but one: For verification (saith he) there needeth no more prooffe, then that neuer Pope, eyther then or since, called any Church-man in question, for medling in those treasonable conspiracies. And needeth no more (Syr) but this, to condemne both Confessours and Popes of conspiring the last Queenes death, That no Pope hath called in question, or punished any Clergy-man for such like attempts? What if he neuer knew of any such attempt? What if he neuer heard of any Clergy-man to be accused thereof, except such as were put to death by the Queene herself, either culpable or not culpable? What if he saw some such ridiculous false deuises, made against some Priests to make their whole company and cause odious, as iustly discredited with him all their other clamours and calumnious accusations in that behalfe? As that of Squier, induced (as was sayed) by Fa. VValpole in Spain to poyson the Queenes chayre, or the Earle of Essex his saddle, which was so monstrous a fiction, and so plainly proued for such in forrayne Countreyes (and so confessed by the miserable felow at his death) as tooke all credit from like deuises in these attemptes, of holding the Queene in perpetuall frightes, to the end, she should neuer attend to the true way of remedy.

XXXII. And with what little care of sincerity,

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or

Apolog.
pag. 67.

Priestes
put to
death for
fayned co-
spiracies.

An. 1598.

Facility &
custome of
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or of punctuall truth, all these things are here, and elsewhere, cast out at randome, to make a sound and noise in the Readers eares, appeareth sufficiently in the very next sequent wordes, wherein speaking of Doctor *Sanders* he saith : *That whosoever will looke vpon his Bookes, will fynde them filled with no other Doctrin then this.* And will any man thinke it probable or possible that so many bookes as Doctor *Sanders* hath written, both in Latyn and English, and ofso different arguments concerning Religion, haue no other Doctrin in them, but this of killing, and murthering of Princes? And that other assertion also, that ensueth within very few lines after, against Cardinall *Bellarmines* whole Workes, *That all his large and great Volumes are filled with contradictions,* wherof we are to treat more presently. Now only I doe note the facility, and custome of ouerlashing in this Apologer.

XXXIII. To conclude then about Queene *Elizabeth*. Albeit *Pius Quintus*, and some other Popes did excommunicate her, and cut her of from the body of the Catholicke Church by Ecclesiasticall Censures, in regard of her persecuting Catholicke Religion: yet did I neuer know it hitherto proued, that any Pope procured or consented to any priuate violence against her person: albeit, if the forealleged Statute of the 28. yeare of King *Henry* the 8. be true, wherein it is determined both by the King himself, his Counsell, and whole Parliament, as by the Archbishop *Cranmer*, with his Doctors, in his Iudiciall Seat of the Arches, that Lady *Elizabeth* was not legitimate, nor that her mother was euer King *Henries* true wife (which once being true, could neuer afterward by any humane power be made vntrue, or amended to the preiudice of a third, rightly by due succession interessed therein:) & if, as the whole Parliament testified, it should be *Against all honour, equity, reason, and good conscience, that the*

said

Statut. an.
28.H.8. c.7

said La. Elizabeth, should at anytyme possesse the said Crowne, then the said Popes, respecting in their said sentence (as it is certayne they did) the actuall right of the Queene of France and Scotland, and of her noble issue his Ma.^{tie} that now is, they might proceed, as they did, against the other, for her remouall (whome they held for an vsurper) in fauour of the true inheritours oppressed by her, not only by spirituall, but temporall armes also, as against a publicke Malefactor and intruder contrary to right and conscience. And I cannot see, how this tawning Apologer, can eyther without open vntruth, or manifest iniury to his Maiesty, auerre the contrary. Which being true, doth greatly iustify the endeauours and desires of all good Catholicke people, both at home and abroad against her, their principall meaning being euer knowne to haue bene the deliuerance, & preterment of the true Heire, most wrongfully kept out, & iniustly persecuted for righteousnes sake.

XXXIII. This then being so, and nothing proued at all against Popes for their murthering attempts against Princes, which Cardinall Bellarmyne denied: yet this Apologer, as if he had proued much against him, in this point of contradicting himself, he writeth thus: *But who can wonder at this contradiction of himself in this point, when his owne great Volumes are so filled with contradictions, which when either he, or any other shall euer be able to reconcile, I will then believe that he may easily reconcile this impudent strong denyall of his, in his letter, of any Popes meddling against Kings.* Wherin is to be noted first, that whereas Card.^{ll} Bellarmine doth deny any Popes murthering of Princcs, this man calleth it, *An impudent strong demiall of any Popes meddling against Kings*, as though meddling, and murthering were all one. Is not this good dealing? Truly if the Card.^{ll} had denied, that euer any Pope had dealt, or medled against any King, or Prince, vpon any occasion whatsoeuer, it had beene a *strong denyall* indeed: but for so much, as

Q. Elizab.
against cō-
science held
the Crown
from his
Maiestyes
Mother
44. yeares.

Vniust
dealing a-
gainst the
Cardinall.

Ibid.

he saith no such thing, I maruaile of the Apologers proceeding in this behalfe, for with the word *impudent* I will not meddle. But let vs heare him yet further.

XXXV. *And that I may not seeme (saith he) to imitate him, in affirming boldly that, which I no waies can proue, I will therefore send the Reader, to looke for witnessses of his contradictions in such places here mentioned in his owne booke.* Thus he, very confidently, as you see, And verily I cannot but maruaile, that he knowing how many men of learning would looke vpon the places themselves, (for I vnderstand now also that the book is out in latyn) would not be ashamed in him self, to suffer their iudgement of him and his doings in this behalfe: albeit he had not respected the Cardinals answere, which must nedes be with exceeding aduantage against him, such as, in truth, I am ashamed for Countrey sake, that strangers should laugh vs to scorne for such manner of writing. For if I doe vnderstand any thing, and that myne owne eyes, and iudgement doe not deceaue me, this Apologer will remayne vnder, in all & euery one of these oppositions, no one of them being defensible in the nature of a true contradiction, and consequently *Cardinall Bellarmynes* great volumes of Controuersies, will not only, not be proued *full of Contradictions* by this tast here giuen, as is pretended: but will rather be infinitely iustified; that in so many great Volumes, this Author hath not bene able to picke out any better contradictions then these. Wherof againe, I must say and auouch, that no one seemeth to me any contradiction at all, if they be well examined.

XXXVI. And though I meane not to discusse them all in this place, nor the greater part of them, they being cleuen in number, as hath bene said, both for breuityes sake, and not to peruent the Cardinalls owne Answere, and satisfaction therein (which I doubt not but

Card. Bellarmynes
Volumes
much iustified by
these objected
contradictions.

but will be very sufficient, and learned:) yet three or foure I shall touch only, for examples sake, thereby to giue the Reader matter to make coniecture of the rest. This then he beginneth his list of eleuen contradictions against the said Cardinall.

XXXVII. First in his bookes of Iustification(saith he) *Bellarmyne* affirmeth, that for the vncertainty of our owne proper righteoulines, and for auoyding of vayne glory, it is most sure and safe, to repose our whole confidence in the alone mercy and goodnes of God: which proposition of his, is directly contrary to the discourse, & current of all his five bookes *De Iustificatione*, wherein the same is conteyned &c. Of this first contradiction we haue said somewhat before, to wit, That it is strange, that five whole bookes should be brought in, as contradictory to one proposition. For how shall the Reader try the truth of this obiection? Shall he be bound to read all *Bellarmynes* five bookes, to see whether it be true or no? Had it not bene more plaine dealing to haue alleadged some one sentence, or conclusion contradictory to the other? But now shall we shew, that there can be no such contradiction betwixt the sentence of one part of his said Booke of *Iustification*, & the whole discourse or current of the rest: for that *Bellarmyne* doth make all the matter cleere, by soyling three seuerall Questions in one Chapter, which is the seauenth of the fifth Booke here cyted.

XXXVIII. The three Questions are these, about *Fiducia*, *qua in meritis collocari possit*, what hope and confidence, may be placed, by a Christian man, in his good workes, and merites. The first Question is, whether good workes, in a Christian man, doe increase hope and confidence by their own nature, and the promise of reward made vnto them? And *Bellarmyne* answereth that they doe: and proueth it by many places of Scriptures, as that of *Toby* the 4. where it

The first supposed contradiction.

Bellar. de Iustific. lib. 5. cap. 7. Apol. 68.

Three Questions about Confidence in merits answered by *Bellarmyne*.

i.

Tob. 4.

Iob. 11.

1. Tim. 3.

is saied: That almes-deeds shall giue great confidence, and hope to the doers therof in the sight of God. And Iob sayeth: That he which liueth iustly, shall haue great confidence, and hope, and shall sleep securely. And S. Paul to Timothy saith: That whosoever shall minister well, shall haue great confidence, &c. And I omit diuers other plaine places of Scriptures, and Fathers there alleadged by him, which the Reader may there peruse to his comfort, shewing euidently, that the conscience of a vertuous life, and good workes, doth giue great confidence to a Christian man, both while he liueth, and especially when he commeth to dye.

2.

XXXIX. The second Question is, whether this being so, a man may place any confidence wittingly in his owne merits, or vertuous life. And it is answered, That he may; so it be with due circumstances of humility, for auoyding pride, and presumption. For that a man feeling the effect of Gods grace in himself, whereby he hath bene directed to liue well, may also hope, that God will crowne his giuts in him, as S. *Augustines* wordes are. And many examples of Scriptures are alleadged there by Card.¹¹ *Bellarmyne* of sundry holy Saints, Prophets and Apostles, that vpon iust occasion mentioned their owne merits, as giuts from God that gaue them hope and confidence of his mercifull reward: and namely that saying of S. Paul: *I haue fought a good fight, I haue consummated my course, I haue kept my faith &c.* and then addeth, that in regard hercof, *Reposita est mihi Corona Iustitie*, A crowne of Iustice is laid vp for me, which God the iust Iudge shall restore vnto me.

2. Tim. 4.

3.

XL. The third Question is (supposing the foresaid determinations) what counsaile were to be giuen: Whether it be good to put confidence in a mans owne merits or no? whereunto Card.¹¹ *Bellarmyne* answereth, in the words set downe by the Apologer, *That for the vncertainty of our owne proper Iustice, and for auoyding the perill of*
vaine

vaine glory, the surest way is to repose all our confidence in the only mercy and benignity of God; from whome and from whose grace our merits proceed. So as albeit Card.¹¹ Bellarmyne doth confesse, that good life, and vertuous acts doe giue hope, and confidence of themselues, and that it is lawfull also by the example of auncient Saints, for good men to comfort themselues with that hope and confidence: yet the surest way is to repose all in the benignity and mercy of almighty God, who giueth all, and is the Authour, as well of the grace, as of the merits, and fruites of good workes that cuse therof. And thus hath Cardinall Bellarmyne fully explicated his mynd in this one Chapter, about *Confidence in good workes*, by soluing the foresaid three different Questions, wherof the one is not contrary to the other, but may all three stand together. And how then is it likely, that the foresaid proposition, of *reposing our Confidence in the mercy of God*, should be contradictory, as this man saith, to the whole discourse and current of all his five Bookes of *Iustification*? Let one only sentence be brought forth, out of all these five Bookes that is truly contradictory, and I shall say he hath reason in all the rest of his ouerlashing.

XLI. His second objected contradiction is as good as this, which he setteth downe in these wordes. ^a God (saith Bellarmine) doth not incline a man to euill, eyther naturally or morally: and presently after he affirmeth the contrary, saying: ^b That God doth not incline to euill naturally but morally. But this is a plaine fallacy of the Apologer, for that the word *morally* is taken heere in two different senses, which himself could not but see. For first Card.¹¹ Bellarmyne hauing set downe the former proposition, That God doth not incline a man to euill, eyther *Physicè* vel *Moraliter*, naturally or morally, he expoundeth what is vnderstood by ech of these termes, to witt, That Naturall or Phisicall concurrence is, when God concurreth to the substance of the action, as mouing or impelling

The sume of Cardinall Bellarmynes discourse and Answer.

The second supposed contradiction about *Moraliter*.

^a Bellar. de amiss. grat. et fiat. fecit. l. 2. c. 13.
^b Ibid. paulo post.

impelling a mans will: but *Morall* concurrence is, when he doth commaund or ordayne any synne to be done. As for example, If a great man should concurre to the murder of another, he may doe it in two manners, eyther Naturally or Phisically, concurring to the action it self of poysoning, strangling, or the like: or Morally, by counselling or commaunding the same to be done, which is properly called *Morall* concurrence. And by none of these two wayes, God doth concurre to the committing of a synne.

Occasio-
nall cōcur-
rence to a
sinne what
it is.

XLII. But there is a third way of concurring, tearmed *Occasionaliter*, occasionally, or by giuing occasion, which improperly also may be called *Morall*: and this is, When God seeing an euill man euill-disposed, to doe this or that synne, though he doe not concurre therunto by any of the foresaid two wayes, of assitting or commaunding the action to be done: yet doth he, by his diuine prouidence, and goodnes, make occasions so to fall out, as this synne, and not that, is committed; and consequently it may be said, That almighty God, without any fault of his, or concurrence in any of the forsaide two wayes, hath bene the Occasionall cause of this synne. As for example, we read in *Genesis*, That when the brethren of *Ioseph* were obstinately bent to kill him, God, by the passing by of certayne *Ismaelites*, Merchants of *Galaad*, gaue occasion of his seding into *Egypt*; so as he was herby some Occasionall, or Morall cause of this lesser synne, for eschewing the greater, but not in the former sense of Morall concurrence, which includeth also commandement.

Gen. 37.

XLIII. This Occasionall concurrence then, though in some large sense, it may be called also *Morall*: yet is it much different from the former, and consequently, the one may be affirmed, and the other denyed, without any contradiction at all. And so this second obseruation against Cardinall *Bellarmyne*, is wholly im-
pertinent

pertinent: for that *Contradictio* must be *in eodem, respectu eiusdem*, which heere is not verifed. For that when the Cardinall saith in the first place, That God doth not cōcurre Morally to synne, he meaneth by cōmaūding or counselling the same; & whē in the later place, he graū-teth, That God doth cōcurre somtymes Morally, he mea-neth by giuing occasiō only for this synne to be cōmit-ted, rather then that, which is a plaine different thing.

XLIIII. And of the same quality is the third Contradiction, et downe by the Apologer in these wordes: *All the Fathers teach constantly (saith Bellarmyne) that Bishops doe succeed the Apostles, and Priests the seauenty dis-ciples.* And then in another part of his workes, he affir-meth the contrary: *That Bishops doe not properly succeed the Apostles.* But whosoeuer shall looke vpon the places here quoted, shall fynde this to be spoken in diuers senses, to witt, that they succeed them in power of Episcopall Order, and not in power of Iurisdiction, and other extraordinary priuiledges: so as both those doe well stand togeather. And the like I say of the 4. contradi-ction objected, which is, *That Iudas did not belieue: & yet in an other place, That Iudas was iust, and certaynly good:* which is no contradiction at all, if we respect the two seuerall tymes, wherof Cardinall Bellarmyne doth speake, prouing first, out of *S. Iohns* Gospell, by the in-terpretation of *S. Hierome*, that *Iudas* at the beginning was good, and did belieue; and then by other words of *Christ* in the same Euangelist, vttered a good while after the Apostles vocation, *That he was a dyuell, and believed not.* And who but our Apologer, would found a cōtradictiō against so learned a man as Bellarmyne is, vpon a ma-nifest Equiuocation of tymes, wherby he may no lesse argue with Bellarmyne for calling *S. Paul* an Apostle and persecutour, and *Nicolaus* an elect of the holy Ghost, and yet an Heretick, for that the one was a Persecutour first, and then an Apostle, and the other first a chosen

The third supposed contradi-ctiō, about Bishops succeeding of the A-postles.

Bellarm. de Cler. lib. 1. cap. 14. Lib. 4. de Pōrif. c. 25.

The 4. cō-tradiction about Iu-das.

Lib. 1. de Pontif. c. 12. Lib. 3. de Iu-stif. cap. 14. Ioan. 6.

Deacon by the holy Ghost, and afterward an Hereticke, possessed by the diuell, as most do hould.

XLV. But I should doe iniury (as before I said) both vnto Cardinall *Bellarmyne* and my self, if I should goe about to answere these suppoled contradictions at length. To the Cardinall, in preuenting him, that will doe it much better. Vnto my self, in spending tyme in a needles labour, for so much as euery one of meane iudgemēt, that will but looke vpon the bookes, and places themselues heere cyted, will discouer the weaknes of these obiections, and that they haue more will, then ability to disgrace Cardinall *Bellarmyne*

The Apologger returneth to calumniate Popes.

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XLVI. After the obiection then of these deuised contradictions, our Apologger returneth againe to exagitate yet further the foresaid saying of *Bellarmyne*, That neither his Maiesty, nor other King hath need to feare any daunger to his Royall Person, by acknowledging the Popes spirituall authority in his Kingdome, more then other Christians, and Monarches haue done heretofore, or doe now in other Kingdomes round about him, who admitt the same Authority and haue done euen from the beginning of their Christianity, without any such dangers of murther incurred therby. Wherupon this Apologger maketh a large new excursion, numbering vp a great Catalogue of contentions, that haue fallen out, betweene some Popes and Emperours, & the said Emperours receaued hurtes, domages, and dangers therby, and consequently had caule to feare, contrary to that which *Bellarmyne* writeth.

Examples obiectioned of Princes molested by Popes.

XLVII. And in this enumeration the Apologger bringeth in the example of the Emperour *Henry* the 4. brought to doe pennance at the Castle of *Canusium*, by Pope Gregory the seauenth; as also of the Emperour *Fredericke* the first, forced by Pope *Alexander* the third to lie agroose (as his word is) on his belly, and suffer the other to tread on his necke: Of the Emperour *Philip*, that is said to

to haue bene slaine by *Otho* at the Popes motion; and that in respect therof, the said *Otho* going to *Rome*, was made Emperour, though afterward the Pope deposd him also : Of the Emperour *Fredericke* the second, excommunicated, and depriued by Pope *Innocentius* the fourth, who in *Apulia* corrupted one to giue him poyson, and this not taking effect, hyred one *Manfredus* to poyson him, wherof he dyed : That Pope *Alexander* the third wrote to the *Soldane* to murder the Emperour, & sent him his picture to that effect : That Pope *Alexander* the sixth, caused the brother of *Baiazetes* the Turkish Emperour, named *Gemen*, to be poysoned at his brothers request, and had two hundred thousand crownes for the same : That our King *Henry* the second, besides his going barefooted in pilgrimage, was whipped vp and downe the Chapter-howse, like a schoole-boy, and glad to escape so too : That the Father of the moderne King of *France*, was depriued by the Pope of the Kingdome of *Nanarve*, and himself (I meane this King of *France*) forced to begge so submissiuely the relaxation of his excommunication, as he was content to suffer his Embassadour to be whipped at *Rome* for pennance.

X L V I I I. All these examples are heaped together to make a muster of witnesses, for prooofe of the dangers wherein Princes persons are, or may be, by acknowledging the Popes Supreme Authority. But first in perusing of these, I fynde such a heape indeed of exaggerations, additions, wrestings, and other vsyncere dealings, as would require a particuler Booke to refute them at large. And the very last here métioned of the present King of *France*, may shew what credit is to be giuen to all the rest, to witt, That he suffered his Embassadour to be whipped at *Rome*, & the latin Interpreter turneth it, *Vt Legatum suum Romæ virgis casum passus sit*: as though he had bene scourged with rodde vpon the bare flesh, or whipped vp and downe *Rome*; wheras so many hun-

dreds being yet alieue that saw that Ceremony (which was no more, but the laying on, or touching of the said Embassadours shoulder with a long white wand vpon his apparell, in token of submitting himself to Ecclesiasticall discipline) it maketh them both to wonder, and laugh at such monstrous assertions, comming out in print: and with the same estimation of punctuall fidelity doe they measure other things here auouched.

I X L. As forexāple, that our King *Henry* the second *was whipped vp and downe the Chapter-house, & glad that he could escape so too*, for which he cyteth *Houeden*, and this he insinuateth to be, by order of the Pope: in respect whereof (he saith) the King had iust cause to be afraid. But the Author doth plainly shew the contrary, first setting downe the Charter of the Kings absolution, where no such pennāce is appointed: & secondly after that againe in relating the voluntary pennances which the King did at the Sepulcher of *S. Thomas*, for being some occasiō of his death, doth refute therby this narration, as fraudulent, and vsyncerē, that the King *was whipped like a school-boy by order of the Pope*, as though it had not come frō his owne free choice, and deuotion.

L. That other instance of the Emperour, *that lay a-groose on his belly* (which I suppose he meaneth of *Fredericke* the first) and suffered Pope *Alexander* the third to tread on his necke, is a great exaggeratiō, and refuted, as fabulous, by many reasons, and authorities of *Baronius*, to whome I remit me. The other in like māner of *Celestinus* the Pope, that should with his foote beate of the Crown from the head of *Henry* the sixt Emperour, being only mentioned first of all others by *Houeden* an English Authour, and from him taken by *Ranulph* of *Chester*, no other writer of other nations, eyther present at his Coronation as *Godefridus Viterbiensis* his Secretary, or others afterward as *a Platina*, ^b *Naclerus*, ^c *Sabellius*, ^d *Blondus*, ^e *Sigonius*, ^f *Cramzins*, so much as mentioning the same, though yet they

Touching
K. Henry
the secōd.

Houed. pa.
303.

Ibi. pa. 308.

See Baron.
in an. 1177.
sub finem.

a In vita
Celestini
b part. 2.
gen. 40. in
anno 1190.
c Tom. 2.
Ennead. li. 5
d in anno
1190.
e Lib. 15. in
Henrico 6.
f Lib. 7. Sa-
xon. cap. 3.
& alij.

they write of his Coronation, maketh it improbable, and no lesse incredible then the former.

L I. That also of the Emperour *Philip*, affirmed to be slaine by *Otho* his opposite Emperour, at the incitation of Pope *Innocentius* the third, is a meere flaunder. For that, according to all histories, not *Otho* the Emperour, but an other *Otho* named of *Virilispack* a priuate man & one of his owne Court, vpon a priuate grudge, did slay him. And albeit *Vrspergensis*, that followed the faction of the Emperours against the Popes, doe write, that he had heard related by some the speech here sett downe, that *Innocentius* should say, That he would take the Crowne from *Philip*, or *Philip* should take the Myter from him: yet he saith expresly, *Quod non erat credendum*, that it was not to be believed. And yet is it cyted here, by our Apologer, as an vndoubted truth, vpon the onely authority of *Vrspergensis* in the margent.

L II. The like may be said of the tale of *Frederick* the second, attempted to haue bene poysoned, first in *Apulia* by Pope *Innocentius* the 4. and afterward effectuated by one *Mansfredus*, as hyred by the Pope: which is a very tale in deede, and a malicious tale. For that he which shall read all the Authors that write of his life, or death, as ¹ *Platina* (whome the Protestants hold for free in speaking euill of diuers Popes) ² *Blondus*, ³ *Sabellicus*, ⁴ *Naucerus*, ⁵ *Crantzius*, ⁶ *Sigonius*, & others, shall fynde; that as they write very wicked thinges committed by him in his life: so talking of his first danger in *Apulia* by greuous sicknes, they make for the most part no mention of poyson at all, and much lesse as procured by the Pope *Innocentius*, prayled * for a very holy man, and to haue proceeded iustly against *Fredericke*. And secondly for his death, they agree all, that it was not by poyson, but by stopping his breath and stitelyng him in his bed with a pillow, by *Mansfredus* his owne bastard Sonne, to whome he had giuen the Princedome of *Tarentum*, for feare least

Vrspergensis pag. 310.
Sigonius li. 15. in fine c. 13. *Crantzius* in sua *Saxonia* li. 7. cap. 28. *Naucerus* part. 2. gen. 41. in *An.* 1208. idem *Cuspinianus*, *Crusius* & alij.

¹ *In vita Innocētij* 4.
² *Li. 2. Decad. lib. 7.*
³ *Tomo 2. Enne. 9. l. 6. non longè ante finem.*
⁴ *Parte 2. gen. 41. an. 1247.*
⁵ *Lib. 8. ca. 18. sua Saxoniae.*
⁶ *In fine lib. 18.*
* *Blond. vbi supra.*

he should take it from him againe, and bestow it vpon *Conradus* his other soone. But that the Pope was priuy to this, or hyred him to doe the fact, as our Apologers affirmeth; there is no one word or syllable in these Authors therof.

Petrus de Vineis lib. 2. epist. 2. & Cuspinian in vita Frederici 2.

Blondus Ibid.

LIII. But you will say, that he cyteth one *Petrus de Vineis* in his margent, and *Cuspinian* in the life of *Fredericke*, both which are but one Authour; for that *Cuspinian* professeth to take what he saith, out of *Petrus de Vineis*, which *Petrus* was a seruant to *Fredericke*, and a professed enemy to the Pope, and wrote so partialiy of this contention, as Pope *Innocentius* himselfe wrote *Libros Apologeticos* (as *Blondus* recordeth) Apologetical Bookes to confute the lyes of this *Petrus de Vineis* in his liue tyme: And yet yow must note, that he auoucheth not all that our Apologers doth, nor with so much stomacke, or affirmatiue assertion. For thus relateth *Cuspinian* the matter, out of *Petrus de Vineis*: *Non potuit cauere, &c.* The Emperour could not auoyd, but when he returned into *Apulia* he perished with poyson, the 37. yeare of his raigne, and 57. of his age, on the very same day that he was made Emperour. For wheras at the towne of *Florenzola* in *Apulia*, hauing receaued poyson he was dangerously sicke, and at length, by diligence of Physicians, had ouercome the same, he was iusticed by *Manfredus* his bastard sonne, begotten of a noble woman his Concubine, with a pillow thrust into his mouth, whether it were, that *Manfredus* did it, as corrupted by his enemyes, or by the Pope, or for that he did aspire to the Kingdome of *Sicilia*. So he.

Inforsing of matters against the Pope.

LIV. And albeit, as yow see, he saith more herin against the Pope, then any of the other Authours before mentioned, for that he desired to cast some suspitions vpon him: yet doth he it not with that bold asseueration, that our Apologers doth, saying: *That both his first sicknes was by poyson, of the Popes procurement, and his murdering*

thering afterward by hyring of *Manfredus* to poyson him againe: whereas the other ascribeth not the first poysoning to the Pope (if he were poysoned) neyther doth so much as mention the second poyson, but onely the filchling, and finally leaueth it doubtfull, whether the same proceeded from the Emperours enemyes, or from the Pope, or from his Sonnes owne ambition, and emulation against his brother.

L V. To the other obiection, or rather calumniation out of *Paulus Iouius*, that *Alexander* the third did write to the *Soldane*, That if he would liue quietly, he should procure the murder of the Emperour, sending him his picture to that end: It is answered, that no such thing is found in that second booke of *Iouius*, by him here cyted, nor elswhere in that History, so far as by some diligence vsed I can fynde: and it is not likely, it should be found in him, for so much as he beginneth his History with matters only of our tyme, some hundreds of yeares after *Alexander* the third his death.

Apolog.
pag. 73.

L VI. So as the only chiefe accusation, that may seeme to haue some ground against any Pope, in this catalogue, for procuring the death of any Prince, is that which he alleadgeth out of *Cuspinian*, that *Alexander* the sixth tooke two hundred thousand Crownes of *Baiazetes* Emperour of the Turkes, to cause his brother *Gemen* to be put to death, whome he held captiue at *Rome*, which he performed (saith our Apologer) by poyson, and had his pay; this I say, hath most apparence: for that some other Authors also besides doe relate the same, affirming, That albeit Prince *Gemen* the Turke, when he dyed, eyther at *Caieta*, or *Naples*, or *Capua*, (for in this they differ) was not the Popes prisoner, but in the hands of *Charles* the 8. King of *France*, who tooke him from *Rome* with him, when he passed that way with his army: yet that the common fame or rumour was, that Pope *Alexander* the sixth, had part therin, or, as *Cuspinians* words

About the death of *Gemen* or *Sizimus* brother to the great Turke.

Lib. 2. bift.

a In Vita
Alexand.
sexti.b Ennead.
10. lib. 9.

words are, *Pontifice non ignorante*, the Pope not vnwitting therof. The reason of which report *Guicciardine* alleadgeth to be this, to wit, That the euill nature and condition of Pope *Alexander*, which was hatefull to all men, made any iniquity to be belieued of him.^a *Onuphrius Panuinus* writeth that he dyed in *Capua* of a bloudy flux without any mention of poyson. And ^b *Sabellicus* before him againe, relateth the matter doubtfully saying; *Fuerunt qui crederent, eum veneno sublatum, &c.* There were some that belieued, that he was made away by poyson, and that *Alexander* the Pope was not ignorant therof; for that he was so alienate in mynde from the French-men, that he was loath they should take any good by him: Thus we see, that the matter is but doubtfully and suspiciously related only, and the French-men being angry for his death, by whome they hoped great matters, might easily brute abroad a false rumour, for their owne defence in that behalfe.

L VII. But as for the two hundred thousand crownes, though *Iouius* doe say, that they were offered by *Baiazet*, as also *Vestis inconsutilis Christi*, The garment of our Sauour without seame: yet doth he not say, that they were receaued, eyther the one, or the other. So as whatsoeuer euill is mentioned of any Pope, our Apologizer maketh it certayne: and when it is but little, he will enlarge it to make it more: and when it is spoken doubtfully, he will affirme it for a certaynty: wherein he discouereth his owne humour against Popes, and therby limiteth the Readers faith in belieuing him; though we do not take vpon vs to defend the liues and facts of all particuler Popes, but their faith and authority; being forewarned by our Sauour, that vpon the Chayre of *Moyse* shall sit Scribes and Pharisyers, whome we must obey, in that they teach, and not follow or imitate, in that they doe. And this shall serue for this point: Card.¹¹ *Bellarmyne*, I doubt not, will be more large. If a man would

would go about to discredit Kingly authority, by all the misdeeds of particuler Kings that haue byn registred by Historiographers, since the tyme that Popes began, he should fynde, no doubt, abundant matter, and such, as could not be defended by any probability. And yet doth this preiudicate nothing to Princely power or dignity, and much lesse in our case, where the facts themselves objected, are eyther exaggerated, increased, wrested, or altogether falsified.

The third Part of this Paragraph.

THERE remayneth the last part of this impugnation of the Cardinalls letter, which consisteth in the examining all the Authorities and Sentences of ancient Fathers, alledged by him in the same. As first of all, the comparison of the art, and deceit vsed by *Julian* the Emperour, surnamed *Apostata*, and recounted by *S. Gregory Nazianzen*, in placing, and inserting the images of his false Gods, into the pictures of the Emperour, in his Imperiall banner: so, as no man could bow downe, or reuerence the Emperours picture, (as then was the custome) but that he must adore also the images of the false Gods. Which art of temperament, the Cardinall doth compare vnto this mixture & combination of clauses lawfull, and vnlawfull, Cyuill, and Ecclesiasticall in the *Oath* proposed; so as a man can not sweare the one, but he must sweare also the other.

O

Which

1.
Apolog.
pag. 78.

Nazian.
orat. 1. in
Julian.

The exam-
ple of Iu-
lians baner
examined.

Which similitude, although it do expresse most fitly the matter in hand; yet the Apologer being sorely pressed therewith seeketh many euasions to euacuate the same, by searching out dissimilitudes, and saying; That albeit a similitude may be admitted *claudicare vno pede*, to limp, or halt on one foote: yet this (saith he) is lame, both of feete & hands, and euery member of the body: And then he taketh vpon him to set downe at length the diuersities that may be picked out. As first, that *Iulian* was an *Apostata*, but our Soueraigne is a Christian: he changed the Religion which he once professed, but our King not: he became an Ethnicke, or an Atheist, our King is not ashamed of his profession: *Iulian* dealt against Christians, but his Ma.^{tie} dealeth only to make a distinction betweene true subiects, and false-hearted traitours. And so he goeth forward to weary his Reader with many more like diuersities, which must needs be loathsome to euery man of meane iudgment, who know that a similitude requireth not parity in all poynts (for then it should be *idem*, and not *simile*) but only in the poynt wherein the comparifon is made, as heere in the compounding and couching together of lawfull and vnlawfull things in the *Oath*, as the other did in his banner.

LIX. For if a man would tryffe, as our Apologer doth, and seeke out differences betweene things, that are compared together, as like in some certayne poynts, but vnlike in other; we should ouerthrow all similitudes whatsoeuer, and consequently we should eneruate many most heavenly speeches of our Sauiour in the Ghospell, that stand vpon similitudes. As for example: *Be you wise as Serpents, and simple as Doves*. What enemy of Christian Religion might not caull, and caluminate this? seeking out diuersities betwixt a serpent and a man, and betweene the malicious craft of that malignant creature, and the wisdom that ought

Similitudes hold not in all.

Matth. 10.

ought to be in a prudent man. But it is sufficient that the similitude do hold in that particuler poynt, wherein *Christ* made the comparison. And so agayne, When our Sauour maketh the comparison betweene the Kingdome of heauen, and the litle grayne of mustard-seed; who cannot fynd out infinite differences betweene the one and the other, making the similitude to halt and limp in many more parts, then it can go vpright. But it is sufficient, that it stand, and halt not in that one poynt, wherein the comparison is made.

Matth. 13.

Mar. 4.

Luc. 13.

Ibid.

L X. I passe ouer many other like similitudes, as that the Kingdome of heauen, is like to a man that soweth good seed in his field: As also it is like to leauen, which a woman tooke and hid in three measures of meale, vntil the whole was leauened: It is like also to a treasure hid in the ground; and to a Marchant man, that seeketh good margarites, and precious stones: And vnto a net cast into the sea, and gathering together of all kynd of fishes. Who cannot (I say) fynd out differences and diuersities, if he would study for them in all these similitudes vsed by our Sauour. For as for the last of the net, that gathereth together perforce, good and bad fish in the sea, seemeth hard to be applyed to the Kingdome of heauen, whether we vnderstand it, cyther of Gods Kingdome in the next world, or of the Church in this; for that in the next world good & bad are not admitted; and in this world, the Church of *Christ* gathereth none perforce, as the net doth. But yet in the poynt it selfe, wherein *Christ* our Sauour made the comparison, the similitude doth hold; and that is sufficient to shew the impertinent indeauour of this Apologger heere, to seeke out diuersities, that appertayne not to the poynt wherein the comparison is made.

L X I. The next example which our Apologger seeketh to auoyd or euacuate in the Cardinalls letter, is that of old *Eleazar* in the booke of *Machabees*, who rather

2. Mach. 6.

About the
example of
Eleazar.Apol. pag.
81.”
”
”
”

then he would do a thing vnlawfull, and against his owne conscience, or that might be scandalous to others, he refused not to suffer all kynd of torments; which the Cardinall applyeth to the taking of this vnlawfull *Oath*, by such as are Catholicks, but especially by the *Arch-priest*, head of the Clergie in *England*, whose case he presumeth to be more like to that of *Eleazar*, for his age, estimation, and authority aboue the rest. To which example the Apologer answereth thus: That if the *Arch-priests* ground of refusing this *Oath* were as good as *Eleazars* was, for refusing to eate of the swynes-flesh that was proposed, and vrged vnto him, it might not vnfitly be applyed to his purpose: *But the ground sayling*, (saith he) *the building cannot stand*. But this is an escape much like the former, that runneth quite from the matter: for that the Cardinall supposeth a Catholicke conscience in him to whome he writeth, to which conscience it is as repugnant to sweare any thing, sounding against any poynt of Catholicke Religion or Doctrin, as it was to *Eleazar* to eate swynes-flesh, against the law of *Moses*. Which supposition being made, and that in the Cardinalls iudgment, this *Oath* conteyneth diuers clauses preiudiciall to some poynts of the said Catholicke beliefe and doctrine concerning the authority of the Sea Apostolicke, and that the taking thereof would not only be hurtfull to the taker, but offense also, and scandalous to many other of that Religion, both at home and abroad; the application of this example of *Eleazar* was most fit and effectuell. Let vs see what ensueth of the rest of the Authorities.

3.

Apol. pag.
84.Theodoret
lib. 4. c. 19.

LXII. The third example is of *S. Basil* surnamed for his rare learning and holinesse, *The great*, who being most earnestly exhorted (as *Theodoret* recounteth the story) by *Modestus* the deputy of *Valens* the *Arian* Emperour, sent of purpose to that effect, that he should accomodate himself to the said Emperours will, & present

sent tyme, and not suffer so many great Churches to be abandoned (for that all such bishops , as would not accommodate themselves were sent into banishment) for a little needles subtilty of doctrines, not so much to be esteemed : offering him also , the friendship of the Emperour, and many other great benefits to ensue, both to him and others, if he would in this poynt shew himselfe conformable. But this holy and prudent man (saith the Cardinall) answered, That it was not to be indured, that any one syllable of * dyuine doctrynes, should be corrupted, or neglected; but rather, that for the defence therof, all kynd of torment was to be embraced. Out of which example the Cardinall doth gather, how strict and wary a good man must be, in yealding to any thing neuer so litle, that is preiudicall to the integrity of Catholicke doctryne : and it seemeth very fit to the purpose, and the cases somewhat like.

The tenta-
tion of S.
Basil by
the Deputy
Modestus.

* Diuinorū
dogmatum.

LXIII. Yet doth our Apologer by all means possible seeke to wye of, or weaken all that can be inferred out of this example. And first of all, he beginneth with a meere calumniation thus: First I must obserue (saith he) that if the Cardinall would leaue a common and ordinary trick of his, in all citations, which is, to take what makes for him, and leaue out what makes against him, & would cyte the Authors sense, as well as the sentence; we should not be so much troubled with answering the Ancients which he alledgeth. And to instance it in this very place, if he had continued his allegation but one lyne further; he should haue found this place of *Theodoret*, of more force, to haue moued *Blackwell* to take the Oath, then to haue dissuaded him from it. For in the very next words it followeth (in *S. Basils* speech:) I do esteeme greatly the Emperours friendship, if it be ioyned with piety, but without it, I hold it for pernicious. So he.

Page 84.

A caull a-
gainſt Bel-
larmyne,

66

66

CC

re

cc

50

10

66

44

66

44

40

LXIV. And do these words last adioyned make

any thing at all for our Apologer? Or rather agree they not fitly to the purpose of the Cardinals exhortation, though for breuityes sake he left them out? How then is their omission brought in for a profe of *A common & ordinarie tricke of the Cardinals*, in all his citations, to take only that which is for him, & leaue out what makes against him? How is this against him? Or how doth this shew any such *ordinary tricke of falshood* in the Cardinal, not in one or two, but in all his citations? Doth this man care what he saith? This then is one shift, to answere this *Ancient*, or rather *Anticke*, as heere he is made. Let vs see another.

Another
shift a-
gainst S.
Basil's te-
stimony.

Aplo. Pag.
84. & 85.

* *Theodo-*
ret lib. 4.
cap. 19.
græcè. la-
tine cap. 17.

Compare
this to our
tymes.

LXV. His second is by taking aduantage of translation out of the Greeke, in which *Theodore*t wrote his story, or rather by peruerting the same in some pointes to his purpose. For which cause he repeateth againe the substance of the history in these wordes: But that it may appeare (saith he) whether of vs hath greater right to this place (of *Theodore*t about *S. Basil*) I will in few wordes shew the Authours drift. The Emperour *Valens* being an *Arrian*, at the perswasion of his wife, whē he had depriued all the Churches of their Pastours, came to *Cæsarea*, where *S. Basil* was then Bishop; who, as the story reporteth, was the light of the world. Before he came, he sent his Deputy to worke it, that *S. Basil* should hold fellowship with *Eudoxius* (which *Eudoxius* was Bishop of *Constantinople* and the principall of the *Arrian* faction) or if he would not, that he should put him to banishment. Now when the Emperours Deputy came to *Cæsarea*, he sent for *Basil*, intreated him honorably, spake pleasingly vnto him, desired he would giue way to the tyme, neyther that he would hazard the good of so many Churches *tenui exquisitiōe dogmatis*, promised him the Emperours fauour, and him selfe to be Mediatour for his good. But *S. Basil* answered, *These* *initiating speeches were fit to be vsed to children, that vse to gape after*

such

such things. But for them that were thoroughly instructed in Gods word, they could neuer suffer any syllable thereof to be corrupted. Nay, if need required, they would for the maintenance thereof, refuse no kind of death. Indeed the loue of the Emperour ought to be greatly esteemed with Piety; but Piety taken away, it was pernicious.

LXVI. This is the truth of the storie (saith he:) & I haue layd downe at length his declaration, to the end that his sleightes may the better appeare in eluding the force of this Answer of S. Basil, as though he had said only, that no syllable of Gods word was to be suffered to be corrupted, whereas his meaning was, not only of Gods word, or of Scriptures alone, but, *Ne vnā quidem syllabam diuinorum dogmatum*, not any one syllable of dyuine doctrine, taught by the Catholicke Church, and so much import his wordes in greeke, which are guylfully heere translated: for that in steed of the forealleadged sentence, wherein consisteth the substance of the said answer, to witt: That for them that are thoroughly instructed in Gods word, they can neuer suffer any syllable thereof to be corrupted, he should haue said: That they that haue beene brought vp & nourished in sacred learning, cannot suffer any one syllable of dyuine doctrynes (of the Church) to be violated, which is cōforme also to S. Basils purpose in hand. For that the controuerſy, which he and other Catholicke Bishops had with the Arrian Doctors in those dayes, was not only, nor immediatly about the Scriptures out of which the Arrians alleadged more abundantly then their aduersaries, but about certayne doctrynes determined by the Church, especially by the Councell of Nice, as namely about the vse of the wordes and doctrynes of *homīſion*, or consubstantiality, *hypostasis*, substance, person, trinitie, and other the like; and whether they should say *Gloria Patri et Filio*, or *Gloria Patri cum Filio*; or in *Filio*, & such other differences, which vnto the Deputy Modestus, seemed but small matters and subtilities of doctrine, but to S. Basil matters of great moment

Crafty
conueiāce
in transla-
ting.

οἱ δὲ θεῶς θεσί-
οις λόγοις
ἐν τε θεοῦ μί-
νοι, προοι-
μίντ' ὁρίων
δογματῶν
ἐδε μίαν
ἀνέχον
συλλαβήν.

moment: for so much as they were now determined by the Church, and thereby made *Divina dogmata*, Diuine doctrines, though they were not all expressly found in Scriptures. So as this sleight in translating *S. Basils* answer, *That such as were thoroughly instructed in Gods worde could neuer suffer any syllable thereof to be corrupted* (as though he had meant only of Scriptures) is not sincere, neyther agreeable eyther vnto the letter of the Greeke text, or meaning of *S. Basil*.

The third
shift.

LXVII. Let vs see then his third shift, to put of this matter, which is the same that before we haue mentioned in the first example of *Iulian*, to witt, by seeking out differences, & disparities, betweene the clauses or members that are compared together, saying: *That albeit Basil and the Arch-priest may haue some comparison; yet not our Orthodoxe King with an Arrian Emperour. Basil was solicited to become an Arrian: but the Arch-priest, not once touched for any article of faith.* And so he goeth forward with many contrapositions. But I haue spoken sufficiently before of the weaknes of this manner of argument. And if we remoue the mentions of some persons, that may be offensive, the matters themselues will easily discouer their conformity. For if yow had demanded *Modestus* the Deputy then, in fauour of what religion would he haue *S. Basil* to conforme himselfe & subscribe; he would haue said the *Orthodoxe*, no lesse then the Iudges of *England* do now, that require this Oath: And yet did not *S. Basil* thinke so. And if any man should haue called that Emperour an *Arrian*, it would haue bene no lesse offensive, then to call a Protestant-Prince at his day, a *Caluinist* or *Lutheran*; notwithstanding that the reason of difference betweene the Catholicks and *Arrians* at that day, be the same, that is betweene Catholicks and Protestants at this day: to witt, the following, or impugning of the vniuersall knowne Church, descending from Christes tyme, vnto

Wherein
the com-
parison of
S. Basil and
Modestus
may be
like in our
dayes.

Saint

Saint Basils, and from *Saint Basils* to ours.

L X V I I I. There remayne yet 3. or 4. other exāples mentioned by the Cardinall in his Epistle to the *Arch-priest*, wherof the first two are of *S. Peter*, and *Marcellinus* the Pope, whose fortitude and diligence in ryfing agayne, he desyreth him to imitate, if perhaps he followed their infirmity in falling. The other two, are of *S. Gregorie*, and *S. Leo*, two holy and learned Popes, and for that cause both of them surnamed the *Great*, who do set downe in dyuers places, the obligation that all Catholicke Christian men haue, to hold vnion and subordination with the Sea Apostolicke. Vnto the first two examples, as there is litle said, but disparities only sought out, betweene *Peter* and *Marcellinus*, and the story also of *Marcellinus* called in question; so I leaue the same to the Cardinall himselfe to treat more at large: for so much, as in his former books, & workes, he hath handled the same sufficiently; as also the third obiection, made against *S. Gregorie*, about refusing the name of *Vniuersall Bishop*. And the same I must say of the 4. also, *S. Leo*, whome the Apologer confesseth to be truly alledged against him, for exalting the Authority of *S. Peter*, and firmitie of his faith, which he putteth of with this scoffe borrowed from *D. Iohn Reynolds* his booke of *Conference in the Tower*, That as *Tully* said to *Hortensius* the Orator, when he praised immoderately eloquence, That he would lift her vp to heauē, that himselfe might go vp with her: so would *S. Leo* lift vp *S. Peter* with prayes to the sky, that he being his heire, might go vp also, and be exalted with him.

L X I X. And after this scorne, he picketh out diuers sentences of *S. Leo* his works, which seeme somewhat odious, & to contayne ouermuch praise, & exaltation of *S. Peter*, & his Authority; all takē out of the said *Reynolds* Booke, as *Reynoldes* himselfe had takē the greatest part of the out of *M. Iewell*, to whome the same was very sufficiently

Three or
4. exāples
together.

Apol. pag.
94.

Reynoldes
Cōference.
ca. 1. diuis. 2.
Cicero in
Horten.

The Apo-
logers im-
pugnation
of *S. Leo*.

Leo Serm.
3. suæ af-
sumpt. &
epistola
89. ad Epif-
copū Viē-
nenf.

ciently answered before by D. *Harding*, and the most of them shewed to be meere calumniationes. The first and chiefe wherof is this, *That our Lord did take S. Peter into the fellowship of indiuisible vnity*; which S. *Leo* his aduersaries going about to wrest to an absurd sense, to wit, that this *indiuisible vnity* must eyther be in person, or nature with Christ, D. *Harding* sheweth playnly by S. *Leo* his owne words, sense, and drift, that he meant it only of the *indiuisible vnity* or fellowship of the high name of *Rocke* of the Church, which Christ our Sauiour the chiefe and fundamentall *Rocke* imparted to none, but to S. *Peter*, and consequently that vnity of name of *Rocke* was indiuisible betwene them: which if eyther M. *Iewell*, or M. *Reynolds*, or our Apologer would haue equally considered, they needed not to go about to disgrace so ancient a Father with so meere a cauill: or at leastwise it being once answered, they ought not to haue so oftē repeated it againe, without some new matter, or reason for the same, or impugnation of the former answer.

LXX. But I will not trouble yow with any more at this tyme, albeit there ensue in the Apology diuers other poynts that might be stood vpon, not for that they conteyne any great substance of matter, but for that they seeme to proceed out of no small auersion of mynd, acerbity, and gall in the writer, against all sortes of Catholicke people: which CHRISTIESVS. amend and mollify, and giue him light from heauen to see the truth, that he so bitterly impugneth.

LXXI. And as he dealeth with S. *Leo*, so doth he much more in the same kynd with D.^{or} *Sanders*, and Cardinall *Bellarmino*, cyting out of their workes, dyuers sentences culled and layd together, that seeme lesse respectiue to the Authority of temporall Kings and Princes, and all this to incite more his Ma.^{tie} against them, and those of their Religion: and fynally, against the Cardinall, he concludeth in these wordes: *That God is no more contrary to*

Belial

Great in-
iury offer-
red to Car.
Bell. about
Kingly au-
thority.

Belial, light to darknes, and heauen to hell, then Bellarmines estimation of Kings is to Gods. Which is a very passionate Conclusion, if yow consider it well, for that setting asyde the preheminence for iudging in matters of Religion, which in his Controuersyes he proueth both by Scripture, and testimony of all antiquity, to appertayne to Bishops and not to Princes (& so was practised for 300. yeares after Christ, when few, or no Kings, or Emperours were yet Christians;) in all other poyntes he speaketh so reuerently of them, and defendeth their Supreme Authority with as great respect as any Authour (perhaps) hath euer done before him. And to pretermitt other places, let the Reader but looke ouer the first 16. Chapters of his Booke *de Laicis*, and he shall fynd not only the Authority of Princes proued to be from God, by many Scriptures, Fathers, Councils, Reasons, and other Authorities of Saints, against *Anabaptists*, *Atheists*, and other miscreants of our tyme; but the quality also, and excellent power of the said Princely Authority so exalted both for making of lawes, iudging, condemning, waging warre, and like actions of supreme power; as will easily refute this cauillation.

Aplo. Pag.
110.

LXXII. And among other propositions tending to that effect, he hath this in the beginning of his eleuenth Chapter, which he proueth largely, and of purpose throughout the same; not only, That Temporall Princes are to be obeyed out of Conscience, or for Conscience sake; but also, *Quod lex Civilis non minus obligat in Conscientia, quam lex Diuina*: That the Cyuil law of the Temporall Prince doth no lesse bynd the Subiect in Conscience, the the law that commeth immediatly from God himself. And how then is Cardinall Bellarmyne said heere to be no lesse contrary to God, concerning Kings Authority, then *light to darknes, and heauen to hell*? But especially if yow consider further, that when Cardinall Bellarmyne in that booke, commeth to treat of the Authority of Tem-

Lib. de Laicis cap. 11.

Card. Bellarm. exalteth much Princely authority.

porall Princes in matter of Religion, though he set downe this Conclusion, That, *Non pertinet ad eos Iudicium de Religione*, The authority of iudging of Religion (which is true or false) belongeth not vnto them, but vnto Bishops: yet, *Pertinet ad eos defensio Religionis*, the defence and protection of Religion appertayneth vnto them: as also the cyuill gouernmēt in cyuill matters ouer all persons, as well Ecclesiasticall as Temporall, which is so much as a Catholicke man can giue to *Cesar*, reseruing to God that which is Gods.

LXXIII. And albeit this might be sufficiēt to shew the tooth that is held against Cardinall *Bellarmino*, and the ardent appetite these Ministers haue to disgrace him in somewhat: yet am I inforced to lay forth some few examples more, wherby, as in a cleere glasse, the indifferent Reader will see, behold, and wonder also, at the manner of dealing vsed against him to that end.

LXXIV. And now we haue already scene, what general Conclusions haue bene gathered against him: That he vseth to contradict himselfe wittingly, so often as euer he is pressed with any hard argument by his Aduersary: That his common trick is to tell the sentence of his Authour without his sense: That he seeketh euery-where to debase Kingly authority, and the like. Which generalities, as, in truth and reason, they may not be inferred, but vpon prooffe, and induction of many particularities: so when it commeth to tryall, yow haue scene not so much, as any one particuler sufficiently proued. Now shall yow heare some more examples of calumnious dealing with him.

LXXV. Pag. 92. the Apologer speaking of *S. Gregorie the Great*, and going about to interpret those wordes of his, alleadged by the Cardinall, where he calleth the Sea Apostolicke *Caput fidei*, the Head of faith, in regard of the direction in matters of Faith, that is to be taken from thence, as from the Head; the Apologer would haue it vnderstood, that for so much as in that place

Calūnious
dealing a-
gainst Car.
Bellar.

Greg. li. ii.
epist. 42.

place he speaketh to the Bishop of Palermo about the vse of the Pall, accustomed to be gyuen by the sea Apostolicke to Archbishops, *S. Gregories* meaning is, that the Sea Apostolicke or Rome is head only in matters of Cerimonies, and then he inferreth thus: *VVhich sense* (saith he) *if you will not admit, gine me leaue to say that once of one* (*Gregorie*) *which Bellarmyne himselfe saith often of many of the Fathers, Minus cautè locutus est: Gregorie* spake not so aduisedly: And the latin translation hath, *Quod ille de multis, & sapè dicit, ex omni numero Patrū*, That Bellarmyne saith it often, & of many, and of all sortes of Fathers; to wit, that they spake inconsideratly: and yet when I went to examyne the two places of Bellarmynes workes, cyted by our Apologer in the margent, I found a strange abuse, to wit, no such thing at all spoken of the Fathers, but only of one *Nicolaus de Lyra*, made a Christian of a Iew, not much about two hundred yeares past, who seeming by some words of his, to hold a certayne extrauagāt opiniō, that *S. Peter*, & *S. Paul* were not put to death at Rome, but at *Hierusalem*, against the generall consent of all antiquity, Cardinal Bellarmyne expoundeth first, what his true meaning was, to witt, nothing in deed differing from the Fathersepositions, and namely of *S. Hierome*, and then addeth, *Quamquam minus cautè locutus est &c: Albeit Lyranus* in his manner of speech, was not so wary, as he might haue byn, in giuing suspiciō of so absurd an opinion, and so contrary to all the ancient Fathers. Heere then you see, how matters are strayned. That which Cardinall Bellarmyne speaketh only of *Nicolaus Lyranus* vpon so iust occasion, as this was, is extended by our Apologer, to *often, many, and all sortes of Fathers*. Is this good dealing? How can the Apologer defend himself in this place, from willfull exaggeration, and voluntary mistaking? In the other place cyted by him *lib. 2. de Christo cap. 2.* there is no such matter at all. But let vs see some other like examples.

Bellar. 2. de Ro. Pontif. cap. 10. & li. 2. de Christo cap. 2.

Lyr. com. in 24. Matth.

LXXVI. Pag. 108. he setteth downe this generall odious proposition out of *Bellarmyne*: *That Kings are rather slaues, then Lordes.* And may a man thinke this to be true or likely, that so rude a proposition should come from *Bellarmyne*? Lookē vpon the place by him cyted *lib. 3. de Laicis cap. 7.* & yow will maruaile extremly at this manner of proceeding. For that in this very place, yow shall fynd that the *Cardinall* doth most exalt, and confirme by Scriptures, Fathers, and other arguments, the dignity and authority of the cyuill Magistrate among Christians. And in the next precedent Chapter before this cyted, he hath this beginning. The fourth reason, saith he (to proue the lawfulness and dignity of the Cyuill Magistrate against the Anabaptists) is from the efficiēt cause, to witt, God the Authour therof, from whom it is certayne, that Cyuill power proceedeth, as *S. Augustine* proueth throughout his whole fourth, and fifth bookes *De Ciuitate Dei*, and it is euident by the Scriptures, for that God saith : *By me Kings do raigne &c.*

Prouer. 8.

LXXVII. So *Bellarmyne*: and then passing to the next Chapter heere cyted, which is the seuenth, he proueth the same by another argument, which is. That in the state of Innocency, if *Adam* had not synned, wee should haue had Cyuill subiection and gouernment; and consequently it cānot be thought to be euill, or brought in by sinne, or for the punnishment of synne, as the *Anabaptistes* affirmed, but must needs be of God, & from God. True it is (saith he) *that seruile, or slauish subiection, was brought in after the fall of Adam, and should not haue byn in the state of Innocency, but cyuill subiection should.* And then he sheweth the differences betweene these two sortes of gouernment, and subiections, to witt, that the one, which is the seruile, tendeth wholly to the vtility and emolument of him that gouerneth, and nothing to them that are gouerned. But the other which is cyuill and politicke, tendeth principally to the profit of them that are gouerned

ned therby. So as if there be any seruitude, saith Bellarmine (but he meaneth not slauiſh) in this Ciuill principality, it falleth rather vpon him, that gouerneth the people to their owne vility, then vpon the ſubiectes that receaue the ſaid vility therby. And ſo are Biſhops called the ſeruantes of their flockes, and the Pope himſelfe, *The ſervant of ſeruants*: and S. Auguſtine vpon thoſe wordes of our Sauour in S. Matthews Ghoſpell (*He that will be made firſt (or chiefe) among you, muſt be the ſervant of all the reſt*) doth proue at large, that, in Ciuili Principatu, *magis ſeruus eſt, qui præeſt, quam qui ſubeſt*: In a Ciuili Principality, he is more a ſervant that gouerneth to other mens profit, then he that obeyeth, to his owne.

*Aug. li. 19.
de ciuitate
Dei cap. 14.
Matth. 20.*

LXXVIII. This is all that Cardinall Bellarmyne hath about this matter: wherin he doth ſcarce name a King, as yow ſee, but Biſhops, and Popes to be ſeruants in the gouernments of thoſe, whome they gouerne; though he include good Kings in like manner, putting this difference betwene a good King, & a Tyrant, out of *Aristotle*; That a good king gouerneth to the profit of his Subiects, wherin he is their ſervant in effect (though not their ſlaue, as this man odiously vrgeth) and a Tyrant, that turneth all to his owne vtility without reſpect of thoſe, whome he gouerneth. And is this ſo abſurd doctrine? Or doth this iuſtify the Apologers outrageous propoſition, *That Bellarmyne affirmeth Kings to be rather ſlaues then Lordes*? Who would not be aſhamed of this intemperate accuſation?

How good
Kings and
Princes are
truly ſer-
uants.

*Ariſt. li. 8.
moral. c. 10.*

LXXIX. And now there remayne eleuen places more of like quality, alleadged by the Apologer out of Cardinall Bellarmynes workes, which being examined by the Authors wordes, meaning, and ſenſe, haue the ſame want of ſincerity which the precedent had. The ſecond is, *That Kings are not only Subiects to Popes, to Biſhops, to Priests, but euen to Deacons*. This is a playne cauill: for the fault, if any be, falleth vpon S. Chryſoſtome, and not vpon the Cardinall, whoſe wordes are theſe: S. Chryſoſtome in
his

*Apol. pag.
108.
Libr. 1. de
Pontif. c. 7.*

his eyghtie and three Homilie vpon S. Matthewes ghospell, doth subiect Kings and Princes (in Ecclesiasticall matters) not only to Bishops, but also to Deacons. For thus he speaketh to his Deacon : *Si Dux quispiam, si Consul, si is qui Diademate ornatur &c.* If a Duke, if a Consul, if one that weareth a Crowne, cometh to the Sacramēt vnworthily, restrayne him, and forbid him, for that thou hast greater power then he. What fault hath Cardinall Bellarmine heere in alledging the words, and iudgement of S. Chrysostome?

*Libr. r. de
Pont. c. 7.*

*Sulpitius in
vita. D.
Martini.*

LXXX. The third place is, That an Emperour must content himself to drinke, not only after a Bishop, but after a Bishops Chaplin. But these wordes are not found in Bellarmine, but are odiously framed by the Apologer out of a fact of S. Martyn Bishop of Towers in France, related by auncient Sulpitius in his life, that he sitting one day at dynner with the Emperour Maximus, and the Emperours officer bringing a cup of wine to his Lord, he would not drinke therof first, but gaue it to the Bishop to beginne, who accepting therof, and drinking, deliuered the said cup to his Priest to drinke next after him, thinking no lay-man to be preferred before a Priest, saith Sulpitius. But what doth this touch Bellarmine, that doth but relate the Story. May he, in truth, be said to auouch, that an Emperor must be cōtēt to drinke after a Bishops Chaplin? Who seeth not this violēt inforcemēt?

*Ibid. & de
Cleric. c. 28.*

LXXXI. His fourth place is this, That Kinges haue not their Authority, nor office from God, nor his law; but from the law of Nations. Good God! what desyre is here desired of calumniation? Let any man read the two places here quoted, and he will blesse himselfe, I thinke, to see such dealing. For in the first place his wordes are these: *Principatus secularis. &c.* Secular Princedome is instituted by mā, & is of the law of Nations; but Ecclesiasticall Princedome is only from God, and by dyuine law, which he meaneth expresly of the first institution of those Principalties, or Gouvernmentes:

for

for that at the beginning God did not immediatly appoynt these particuler and different formes of Temporal government, which now the world hath, some of Kinges, some of Dukes, some of Common-wealthes, but appoynted only, that there should be Government, leauing to ech nation to take or choose what they would. But the Ecclesiasticall Government by Bishops was ordained immediatly by Christ himselfe, for which cause *Bellarmino* saith in the second place heere alledged: *That Kingdomes are not immediatly instituted from God*, but mediately only by meanes of the people; which people therfore may change their formes of government, as in many Countryes we see that they haue: but yet when any forme of Government is established, and Governours placed therein, their authority and power is from God, and to be obeyed out of Conscience, vnder payne of damnation, as before I haue shewed out of *Bellarmino*. And he that will read but from his third Chapter *de Laicis* vnto the 13. shall fynd store of assertions & proofes to that effect, to omitt many other places throughout his workes. So as the former proposition, *That Kings haue not their Authority nor office from God nor his law*, is very fraudulently sett downe. For if he vnderstand, that their forme of Principality and Office therein, is not immediatly from Gods institution, but by meanes of humane lawes, of succession, election, or the like; it is true. But if he meane, that their Authority is not from God, eyther mediate, or immediate, or induceth not obligation of Conscience in obeying them, as it seemeth he would haue his Reader to thinke; it is most false. And the Apologer ought not to haue walked in these obscurities, if he had meant vprightly.

LXXII. I am weary to wade any further in these obiections, and yet will I not let passe to note three more, though most briefly, and almost in three words, leauing the rest to be examined by the Reader himselfe. The first is, *That Church-men are as farre above*

How Princes authority is mediately or immediatly from God.

Q

Kings

Nazian.
orat. ad Ci-
ues timore
percussos
& Imperat.
irasc.

Kings, as the soule is aboue the body. The other: That Obedience due to the Pope, is for Conscience sake. The third: That Obedience due to Kings, is only for certayne respects of order and policy; The first and last being meere calumniations and the other not denyed by vs. For as for the first, though the words heere mentioned be not in Bellarmyne: yet the comparison it self of Ecclesiasticall and Temporall powers in the Church, vnto the soule, and body, is the comparison of S. Gregorie Nazianzen related only by Bellarmyne, and consequently it must needs follow, as the same Father also inferreth, that so much more eminent, as the soule is aboue the body, so much more excellent is the power Ecclesiasticall aboue Temporall, which S. Chrysostome in like manner proueth at large in his books *de Sacerdotio*: So as this is not Bellarmynes comparison, but of the said two auncient Fathers, and consequently Bellarmyne is not here reprehended, but they.

Hebr. 13.

LXXXIII. The other two places, if they be two, and not one, but made two for multiplying of odious matter against vs, haue byn so fully answered by vs before, as we shall need to say no more heere therof. For as Obediēce is due out of Conscience vnto the Pope, & other Bishops, & Spirituall Gouvernours, in spirituall Gouvernments, by the Apostles precept, *Obedite Præpositis vestris, &c.* Obey your Prelates, & be subiect vnto them; for they watch, as being to render accompt for your soules: So the same Apostle hath commanded also, due Obedience to Temporall Magistrates, in temporall affayres, by the same obligation of Conscience, as Cardinall Bellarmyne doth shew at large, in the places by me alledged. And I maruaile with what Conscience the Apologer heere can deny it, cyting a place for the same in his margent, which hath no such matter, as he would inferre, *That not for Conscience, but only for certayne respects &c.* For that treating of the obligation of Obedience to temporall lawes, in temporall affayres, his second proposition is; *Non sunt exempti Clerici ab obedientia legum Ciuili-
lium*

Libr. de
Cleric. c. 28.

lium: Clergie-men are not exempted from the obedience of temporall lawes. And in another place before cyted; *Lex Civilis non minus obligat in conscientia quàm lex diuina*: The Temporall law byndeth no lesse in conscience, then the Diuine. So as all those odious matters are but fraudulently layd togeather to make Catholicks, & their cause hatefull, especially vnto him, whom vnto they desyre most of all men vnder God, to yield most satisfaction for their temporall duties, and would hope also to effectuate it, if these make-bate Ministers did not by their continuall incitations, clamours, and false suggestions disturbe the same, and renew daylie ieaolyes and distrustes in his Ma.^{ties} mynd against vs.

Libr. de
Laics c. ii.

The Conclusion.



HERFORE to draw to an end of this distastfull argument, it cannot but grieue, & afflict much the hartes of all that loue eyther Prince or, Countrey, & looke into the naturall sequels of like proceedings, to see matters runne dayly vnto such extremities as they do, & that by such instigators, as are both both lesse carefull to foresee the hurts both priuate & publick that may ensue, & lesse able to remedy the when they fall out. The principall of whom (being the first & chiefe motors) belydes the generall hatred wherein they are with both extremes of opposite in Religion, are so interessd in like māner by the spoyles, & rapines which their rauenous Pursuants daylie bring home, out of their continuall searches, and ranfacks of ianocent mens houses, goodes and persons, as litle moderation may be expected from them.

LXXXV. Would God it might please his dyuine Ma.^{tie} so to inlighten and illustrate that excellent vnderstanding of our Prince and Soueraigne, as he may see the many & great inconueniēces, that do & must follow vpon so violet courses as these men for their owne vti-

litie

litie do suggest, & prosecute. Nothing can be more pitifull, then to see a Noble House diuided in it selfe, & the one to beate, hunt, & pursue the other, & this to be their continuall exercise, especially of Children, vnder the sight of their owne Father, louing them all, and desyring to be beloued. Ah! what sollicitude must there needs be in that Fathers hart! And were it not a great synne to increase the same, by casting in oyle to augmēt the flame?

LXXXVI. Would God his Ma.^{ties} cares, and those of his wise Counsell could reach into these partes beyond the seas, and to all forrayne nations of Christendome besydes, to heare what is said, what is writtē, what is discoursed by men of best iudgment in this behalfe, not only in regard of iustice and piety, but in reason also of State and Policie; no man being of so simple vnderstanding, but that he must see, that so notorious differēces, of Subiects for Religio, pursued with such hostility among theselues, must weaken greatly their forces, and make them lesse esteemed both of friends and aduersaries. So as, besydes internall dangers, which are euer consequent vpon such inward diuisions, if forrayne occasions should be offred vs agayne (as in former tymes they haue beene) by forrayne warres; we should not know how to trust the one the other.

LXXXVII. The cryes & cōplayntes of these afflictions running throughout Christendome, do giue strange admiration vnto men, and do worke strong effectes both in iudgments and affections: Admiration, for that no such thing was euer expected vnder his Majesties gouernment, for many causes: strong effectes, for that they worke great alterations both in the one, and the other: In iudgment, for that wise men fynd not any reason, eyther of Religion or State, why such extremities should be pursued, with such rigour at the instigation of parties interessed, to the euident danger of so great and honorable Kingdomes, who if in wills they were vinted, as they are in one Prince and Gouvernour;
their

their forces were both admirable and dreadfull: In affections, for that the compassion which naturally doth accompany our brethrens afflictions, especially for a cause that we most esteeme and loue, to wit, our Religion; must needs worke the contrary effect of inward auersion, both in Princes & people abroad, notwithstanding they hold externall amity, and friendship for the tyme.

LXXXVIII. I let passe the generall obloquies, and murmurations that are to be heard euery where, almost in Christendome, vpon this manner of proceeding, and much more the publicke and priuate complaints, outcries, and praiers that are made and offered daylie to heauen, throughout all Catholicke Kingdomes lightly, in all particuler Congregations, Oratoryes, Chappels, & meetings of zealous men, that pray instantly to Almighty God for some remedy of these oppressions, and persecutions of English Catholicks, sufficiently (as they thinke) declared vnto thé & to the whole world by the very printed Catalogues of English Statutes extant in Print against them, for profession of their Religion: for that by the view of those Statutes, they do easily conceaue, what enormous effectes, do, and must follow in the execution therof; albeit they did not both heare & see daily so many lamétable presidérs & spectacles therin.

LXXXIX. As for example, there haue not passed many moneths, since there were seene some threescore Priests more or lesse (to omit others) cast into banishmét about one tyme, & wandring vp and downe, throughout Christédome, according as euery man had occasion, or necessity for their mayntenance, gaue a lamentable spectacle to all nations, to see mé of so good partes, amiable aspects, sweet behauiour, naturall borne subiects of the Lád, the most of them of very worshipfull parétage, all of learned education, cleere and deuoyd of any suspicion of crymes that could be objected vnto them (for otherwise they should not haue bene dismissed) in the flower of their age, to be cast out of their natieue soyle, for profes-

professing that Religion only, wherby their said Countrey was first made Christian, & so continued vnder all their noble Princes, Kings, Queenes, and Soueraignes, Nobility, and Communitatly, from the beginning of their Conuersion, vnto this our age.

X C. This spectacle (I say) presented to the eyes of most Nations of *Europe*, moued men not a litle, especially hearing them protest their duetifull affections to his Ma.^{tie} and Realme in all Cynill & Temporall respects, without seeking of any preferments, dignities, riches, or other emoluments by staying at home; but only the rest & vse of their owne Consciencies in matters of Religion, which Protestants in many other Catholicke Countreyes are suffered to inioy, though with farre lesser reason, in regard of the ancient right & possession, which ech part pretendeth for the vse of their said Religion.

X C I. And since this tyme agayne there hath bene scene very lately another spectacle, not much vnlike to the former (though much more markable) to wit, a like number of Noble and Gentlemen, with their followers and trayne, passing in very good sort through sundry Countreyes, being lately retyred out of his Ma.^{ties} Kingdome of *Ireland*, for the selfe same cause of their Consciēce, and Religion; which when men do behold, and heare them otherwise to speake honourably of his Ma.^{tie} & the State, ascribing rather their afflictions to some vnder Magistrates in *Ireland*, and Ministers that set them on; it moueth more compassion, and maketh men thinke and muse, what may be the end of all this, and whereunto fynally it may grow? Whether the like may not be expected in tyme or doubted, out of other partes also of his Ma.^{ties} dominions, vpon like angariatio of Consciēces: which points seeme to be of no small consideration, and consequence to wise men; though those that be the immediate causes therof, will and must make light of all: but the naturall yssue of such euentes, are not ynknowne. And if the occasioners therof were guylty of no greater
fault

fault, but only to cast his Ma.^{tie} & the State into perpetuall cares about the same (his Royall nature being inclined otherwise to sweetnes, peace, and tranquillity) it were a great synne in them, and scarce sufferable.

XCII. Nor is the remedy heere attempted by our Minister-Apologer (of denying all, and saying that there is no persecution, nor hard dealing with any, for matters of Religion, no not in the late Queenes dayes, when so many were so rackt and rented for the same) any remedy at all; but rather a doubling of the iniury to the afflicted, with encrease of exasperation & auersion of myndes; as also a leessing of all credit with others that heare it, eyther at home or abroad: for that facts contrary to wordes, do preponderate with all sober men, and preuaile against the same.

XCIII. And truly, I cannot but wonder, why this late Apology hath beene so greedily published by the Apologer, both in English and Latyn to the world, for that the Popes *Breues*, being but written priuately to the Catholicks of *England*, for informing their Consciences in a matter of necessary doctrine about the lawfulness, or vnlawfulness of taking the *Oath*, and the Letter of *Cardinall Bellarmyne* being directed only to a priuate friend; both of them might haue remayned also priuate, if this attempt had not byn made of publishing the same. But now being drawne by the Apologer into the Vniuersall Theatre of the world, besydes, that diuers will hold themselves obliged, or at leastwyse prouoked to answer the same; it will follow also, that the vnlawfulness of the said *Oath* to Catholicke Consciences will more be seene, disputed, & condemned by all Vniuersityes, Schooles, Bookes & Treatises of particuler learned men, throughout all Countreyes of Christendome that professe Catholicke Religio. Wherevpon also the vniust violence, inforcing men to sweare the same *Oath*, vnder so rigorous paynes, as are the losse both of goods & libertie, and therewithall to sweare in
like

like manner, that they do it *willingly, freely, and without coercion*: will be censured (no doubt) for one of the greatest contradictions in it selfe, and the most iniurious manner of proceeding with Christian men, that euer, perhaps was heard of in the Christian world.

X C I V. And this now occurred to me (deare Syr) to write to you concerning my iudgmēt vpō this matter. What more may be said to this Apologie, when it shall come into the handes of learned men; you will easily ghesse by these few notes, that I haue heerelaid together, which conteyne but little in respect of that which may be written of the matters heere handled. God of his endles mercy inclyne the hart of his Maiesty, to take the best way in this his course of Royall Gouvernement: & for so much, as he hath byn pleased to ioyne so many Great Kingdomes vnder his only Scepter, and permitted them to haue so great differences of iudgements in matters of Religion, that their vnion of wills, at least, in dutifull affections, may be so combined and conserued by sweet and temperate proceeding towards all, as despayre, the mother of headlong precipitation, enter not. The Prouerbe is knowne, *Qua nimium emungit, elicit sanguinē: & patientia laesa vertitur in furorem.* I neuer heard or read, that too much violēce towards free Subiects euer ended well, especially for supposed faultes that are not acknowledged for such, by the punished: & cōsequently no hope of amendment by way of compulsion. Some may dissemble for feare, but they are more lost in their affections then the other. Some reasonable toleration, and friendly treatie would bynd vp woundes from bleeding on all sydes: Exulceration maketh them fester more greiuously, and dangerously. To Gods holy Prouidence the whole is to be committed, who will dispose of all to his greater glorie, *sive in vitam, sive in mortem.* And to him also I committ yow, with my hartiest Commendations, &c. This 10. of Iune. 1608.

F I N I S.

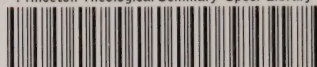
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